





THE SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE OF THE EAST

WITH HISTORICAL SURVEYS OF THE CHIEF
WRITINGS OF EACH NATION

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THE SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY
LITERATURE OF THE EAST

VOLUME XI

ARCHAEOLOGY

THE CHINESE BUDDHA.

A celebrated sculptured Buddha, erected in the year 543 A.D.

BY CHARLES E. BROWN, M.A.

London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.
1911.

ZHONGGUO ZHONGYUAN YU JIANG

THE CHINESE MIDDLE AND LOWER REACHES OF THE YANGTZE RIVER

THE SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE OF THE EAST

VOLUME XI

ANCIENT CHINA

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PROF. CHARLES F. HORNE, PH.D.

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“Let there be light.”—GENESIS I, 3.

“There never was a false god, nor was there ever really a false religion, unless you call a child a false man.”—MAX MÜLLER.

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SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE
OF
CHINA

INTRODUCTION

HOW CONFUCIUS SAVED AN ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

CHINA has been aptly called "the treasure-house of old religions." This is because Chinese thought is so calmly meditative that there is no record of any religious sect having been driven from the land by persecution. Sects have occasionally been persecuted, but only when they became politically dangerous. The general tolerance, and even welcoming, of new religious ideas has been such that, when China was opened to the world less than a century ago, we found that Christian sects had persisted there through all the Dark Ages of Europe, and that Jewish communities were still existing, the date of whose coming into the land was lost in a remote antiquity. Mohammedanism is also established in China, as is many another less-known creed. Chiefly, however, the land and its people are given over to three faiths, often called the THREE GREAT RELIGIONS of China. These are Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism.

These three faiths are not mutually exclusive. Indeed it is characteristic of the national attitude of easy tolerance that many a Chinaman professes himself a believer in all three. He gathers his ideas of a future life from Buddhism, takes his moral precepts for the present world from Confucianism, and soothes his superstitious fears, his yearnings for the mystic, with Taoism. How Buddhism came to China

about the time of the Christian era, and what the Chinese Buddhists thought and wrote, we have seen in the preceding volume. Taoism we shall leave to a later one. Our present theme is of Confucianism, its sacred books and its remarkable preservation of the oldest literature of China.

The name of Confucius was really Kung, to which his adoring countrymen added a title, calling him Kung-fu-tze, which means, "Kung, the Master Teacher." From this interweaving of name and title the first European visitors to China supposed that the sage's name was what we have since called him — Confucius.

This Kung, this Master Teacher, stands in an amazing fashion as the center of all Chinese history, whether literary, religious, or political. Politically, China before his time was a chaos of warring and changing little States, like medieval Europe. From the teachings of Kung arose the China of more recent centuries, a single vast empire, non-military, in love with peace.

In religion also Confucius stands between the old and the new; for in Chinese civilization we must call that *new* which has existed for only some twenty-four hundred years or so. Confucius was born in 551 B.C., in that same wonderful century of awakening religious thought when men listened also to Buddha in India, to Solon and Pythagoras in Greece, and to the great Chinese teacher of Taoism, Lao-tze.

Before this widespread and stupendous uplifting of human thought China had possessed no established church. Religious ideas existed, but in a confused form which we can no longer clearly see. Confucius taught little that was new. He himself in one of his most important utterances describes himself as "a transmitter, not a creator; one who believed in the wisdom of the ancients, and loved them." In this transmission, however, he so emphasized the importance of both religion and morality, brought them so prominently before men's minds, that gradually the entire Chinese nation molded themselves upon his pattern. The scattered ideas of an older day were thus formulated into a clearly outlined faith. Apparently they were also elevated, purified, in pass-

ing through the mind of the Master Teacher. So that Confucianism became a higher as well as a far stronger religious influence than had before existed.

Unfortunately this higher teaching was accepted as being also a finished teaching. The schools of China have ever since studied the precepts of Confucius; but until just within the present century they studied nothing else. All further progress thus became impossible. All conceivable wisdom was supposed to be bound up within the words of the Master Teacher. The Chinese have never forgotten that Confucius was only a man; but they have thought of him as the perfect man, and extended to him the honors of a god. Within this twentieth century of ours the Chinese Empress decreed that he should be given equal worship with the highest God.

What Confucius taught can best be gathered from his writings and sayings as presented in this volume. For the earthly life his precepts are quite clear: morality, reverence, a calm dignity and clinging to formalities, a turning away from trivial things and fleshly pleasures, constant study and communion with whatever seems best and highest. He preached truthfulness also, but with a practical limitation which has had unfortunate effects upon the Chinese character. He declared that truth could not always be followed in actual life. He himself broke a solemn pledge, explaining that it had been forced upon him. In brief, China has suffered because the precepts of Confucius, while of high human standard, never reached the superhuman, never upheld impossible ideals. If man is taught nothing higher than he can achieve, he will soon drag his teachings down to a much more convenient level.

In regard to the after-life the doctrines of Confucius are less clear. He found among the older religious ideas the conception of a supreme god, called vaguely Heaven, or Ti, and he retained the thought. He found also the worship of ancestors, "the spirits of the mighty dead." These semi-human gods were emphasized in his teaching rather more than the supreme god; but neither was given such prominence as man himself. Human beings were to grow nobler;

but not by worship of God, not by adoration, prayer, submission, the breaking of the human spirit. Rather they were to rise by the strengthening of this human spirit, by contemplation of themselves, their own powers and possibilities of righteousness. Growth was to be from within, not from without. It was to come neither from life's teaching nor from God's gift, but from man's own will.

Of course no such contrast as this is deliberately emphasized by Confucianism. God's side is merely ignored, left scarcely seen; man's power is taught. That is why Confucianism had no quarrel with Buddhism or with other religions. Man, in his struggle against his own folly and weakness, is welcome to find any help he can, whether from gods or from the cloudy borderland to which we of to-day have given many names, but which simpler men of old called "magic." For the main portion of two thousand years Confucianism has been the State religion of China, and through all that time it has never objected to the company of other religions or philosophies.

Turn now to the ancient literature of China, upon which Confucianism is chiefly built. Here also the Master Teacher stands at the dividing line between the China of a remote past and the China that we know. Before his day a literature existed, but was not highly treasured. Confucius pointed out its value, based all his teachings on it, read into it a meaning which perhaps had not before existed. Thus he elevated this literature, or rather what fragments of it time and chance had left, to the rank of a sacred treasure. It became a Holy Scripture. The later followers of Confucius interpreted its simple words as having vast symbolical meanings. Chinese scholars admitted that these subtle precepts might be misexpounded and misunderstood; but when correctly interpreted, their truth was no more to be questioned than that of the Master himself.

The ancient writings thus rescued from oblivion by Confucius are classed with the books attributed to him or to his chief disciples of the next two centuries; and these form the sacred literature of China. The Confucianism of later

ages never produced anything but commentaries upon these books, scraps of tradition and interpretations which, as the years drifted idly by, became ever more and more far-fetched and fantastic.

THE FIVE CLASSICS

The writings which Confucius preserved consist of four collections of documents of different classes. With them is included a single historical work by the Master himself; and these five are called the Five King, or Five Ancient Classics.

THE YI KING

First of these comes the YI KING (pronounced "yee keeng"), which means the Book of Changes, or perhaps we might better call it the Book of Divination or of Magic. If we accept Chinese tradition, the oldest portion of this curious and puzzling book had its origin in the very beginning of Chinese civilization, in the year 3322 B.C. This date is given for the founding of the first Chinese kingdom by Fu-hsi, and may be accepted as fairly correct, though some scholars would reduce it by about four centuries. Chronology was not an exact science in the days of Fu-hsi; yet the Chinese annals are much better preserved and give us closer and more reliable figures than any of our recent guesses and approximations upon Babylonian and Egyptian antiquity.

To speak of the Yi, however, as the oldest piece of Chinese literature involves a misconception. All that Fu-hsi contributed to this Yi was its wholly unintelligible foundation. This consists of a series of diagrams, a merely mathematical arrangement of plain, straight lines. These diagrams were used for thousands of years as a basis for magic, for divination of the future; and then, a little before 1100 B.C., two celebrated kings wrote successive explanations, mystical explanations, of the magic meaning of the ancient diagrams. Later commentators added further explanations. Probably Confucius himself wrote some; and all this mass of interpretation upon interpretation constitutes the YI KING.

What was the original source or meaning of these most

ancient, mystic diagrams? We do not know. A recent writer has argued that they are a vocabulary, or rather a syllabary, of the writing of some still more ancient people, preserved by the Chinese long after the earlier use and meaning of the signs had been forgotten. This may be true, but if so the mathematical abstractness and precision of this ancient writing argue for man's intellect a previous epoch of growth and thought almost inconceivable. And whatever these silent diagrams may once have been, they have been dignified now by five thousand years of human reverence. They are revered to-day. There is no other letter, sign, or sacred symbol of our time that can claim anything like the antiquity of worship which surrounds these irresponsive ancient diagrams. If Chinese scholarship still pores over their every outline and invests them with mysteries of meaning which we can not admit, their age at least gives to the study a fascination which we all can feel.

THE SHU KING

The second of the ancient classics is the SHU KING (pronounced "shoo keeng"), or collection of historic writings. Some of the short books or documents preserved in the Shu are of much earlier date than the written parts of the Yi. With the oldest documents of the Shu therefore, the "literature" of China may be said to commence. There are no present manuscripts of any of the Five Classics which date back more than a thousand years or two; but Chinamen have been talking and writing about the classics ever since Confucius's time, and we can be sure that they have come down to us practically unchanged. As to their existence before the days of the Master, the Shu shows itself clearly for what it is, not a continuous history, but a collection from among older records, many of which had been lost. The surviving documents are of different classes, boastful records of kings not unlike those of Assyria, earnest prayers from humbler-minded rulers, solemn moral councils like those of Egyptian scribes, speeches made before battle, outbursts of lamentation. Of these fragmentary records, the oldest speak, and speak

in almost contemporary fashion, of King Yao, who ascended the throne about 2400 B.C. This narrative of King Yao's deeds is thus the oldest piece of Chinese literature that has survived; and with it and the rest of the Shu we begin our present volume.

THE SHIH KING

Third of the Chinese classics comes the SHIH KING (pronounced as "ship" without the "p"), or collection of ancient poetry. The compilation of the Shih is by tradition ascribed directly to Confucius. We are told that in his day over three thousand pieces of the ancient poetry existed, and that he collected the worthiest of these to form the Shih, which contains about three hundred.

Whether it be true that Confucius thus rejected the mass of the old poetry, there can be no question of his devotion to the Shih. In his own writings and teachings he referred to it constantly, and often quoted the old poems. "If you do not learn the Shih," he said, "you will not be fit to converse with."

This attitude of the Master has led later Chinamen to approach the Shih with profound reverence. They insist on finding in its every poem some wise religious teaching. Perhaps they have thus been blinded a little as to its real character. To an outsider it seems a much simpler affair, a natural collection of old poems such as our own poets might write to-day — praises of scenery, quaint ballad narratives, outbursts of human passion, intermingled with hymns to gods and flatteries to kings. Some of its pieces seem as old as the seventeenth century B.C.; and so it presents, next to the Shu, the oldest relics of Chinese literature.

THE LI KI

Fourth of the Five King comes the LI KI (pronounced "lee kee"), the collection of rites or ceremonies. This has for a modern reader much less of interest than the other classics; for it is made up, like the book of Leviticus in our Bible, of a mass of royal and priestly rituals. These were

constantly added to, even after the time of Confucius, until they came to embody an enormous mass of utterly unreadable literature. Moreover, no sharp distinction was kept between earlier and later rituals. Hence the Li of our day is very different from that known to Confucius.

That the Master should have placed the Li on an equality with the other King, strongly emphasizes one portion of his teaching — his respect for ceremonial. He desired that all things should have dignity, and hence should be done in order and by rule, not left to the hazard of the moment. It was by this teaching, more than anything else, that Confucius barred progress. His countrymen, studying old rituals, learned to do everything perfectly in order, but assumed, unfortunately, that when so done everything must be right. The living spirit, which can alone make ceremony of value, faded from their formulas; and its loss was hardly noted.

SPRING AND AUTUMN

With these four ancient books is classed the fifth King, one of the works of Confucius himself. It is called the Chun Chiu, or the Spring and Autumn. This typically poetical Chinese title conceals a history by which the Master tried, as it were, to complete the Shu. Spring and Autumn tells the history of some two hundred years, ending with the days of Confucius himself. To the modern reader the book seems a mere monotonous record of kings, and is of far less interest than Confucius's other works.

THE FOUR BOOKS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

The Five King, though not nearly so spiritual as the Old Testament of our Christian Bible, bear a considerable resemblance to it both in theme and in the reverence given them. Confucianism has also its newer scriptures. These are called the Four Great Books, or the Books of the Philosophers, and were written either by the Master himself or by his immediate disciples. The King had dealt with history, with the venerated past. The Philosophers' Books deal with doctrine, with the actual teachings of the Master. Hence we must

look among these, rather than among the King, for the really "Sacred Book" of Confucianism. We find it in the LUN YU, commonly called the Analects of Confucius.

THE ANALECTS

This is a book of the sayings of the Master. It is written by we know not whom, but apparently by a disciple who listened to the Master and set down his words upon the spot. The book, if the comparison may be suggested without irreverence, holds for Chinamen much the same position and importance as the Four Gospels hold for Christians. From the Analects we see and know with striking clearness both the man Confucius and his doctrines.

Second of importance among the Four Philosophers' Books we may perhaps rank the Sayings of Mencius. Some such position as the Apostle Paul held to Jesus did Mencius hold to Confucius. The Chinese world was slow in taking up the teachings of the Master. It might even have forgotten them. But then, more than a century after the Master's death, came Mencius, preaching the word, spreading it by his own enthusiasm, adding to it his own interpretation. So that Confucianism is to-day what Mencius made it. As, however, he wrote so many years later than Confucius we shall hold his book for a later volume.

We have yet to glance briefly at the two remaining Philosophers' Books. These, with the seeming inconsequence not unusual in Chinese systems, are grouped in the classic Li Ki, or Collection of Rites, but they are also regarded as having a separate existence of their own among the Four Books. They are the TA HSIU, or Great Learning, which consists of a brief summary of ideas by Confucius, expanded into many pages by the explanations of a disciple, and the CHUNG YUNG, or doctrine of the Equilibrium, a work preaching temperance or harmony in all things, and written by a grandson of the Master.

Yet another sacred book is the HIAO KING, or Classic of Filial Piety. Its position is not quite definite. As its name implies, it is sometimes ranked among the King and regarded

as the work of Confucius himself. But it was more probably written in later years, and embodies only a tradition of the Master's teaching. In either case it has become perhaps the most popular of all the great books of Confucianism, and so finds a place in our present volume. It seeks to found a whole religion on the basis of "ancestor worship," or of children loving and honoring their parents. The reader may find a special interest in the Hsiao King from the fact that it has been the favorite study of Chinese emperors. Several of them have written commentaries upon it. They too, like lesser folk, have wanted their children to honor them.

One further matter about all these Ancient Classics may be worth pointing out to the careful reader. That is, the untrustworthy character of our present Chinese texts. The old books have been copied and recopied during many centuries. The copyists were never precise workmen, and a very slight change in a Chinese written character may alter its significance. A careful modern scholar has estimated that probably twenty-five per cent. of the words of the classics have thus been changed. For example, in the Shu King, the oldest work of all, there are traces of metrical structure which suggest that some of its pieces, and perhaps all, were originally in verse, though they are now in prose. In brief, we possess a fascinating treasure in the Chinese classics, but it is not the treasure of accurate scientific registration and preservation of the past. The vision of ancient days and ancient wisdom comes down to us through the hands of many generations of reverent, eager students; and these, unconsciously, have somewhat molded the Master's thought to their desires. Only recently has Western scholarship delved beneath Chinese interpretations to rediscover the real Confucius.

THE SHU KING
OR
CLASSIC OF HISTORY

“Be versed in ancient lore, and familiarize yourself with the modern; then may you become teachers.”

— CONFUCIUS.

“What a precious possession have later rulers in the records of the Shu!”

— CONFUCIUS.

THE SHU KING

(INTRODUCTION)

THE character of the Shu King as a collection of old historic documents has been explained in the general introduction. These documents are divided into five parts, of which the first contains only a single brief book, the sacred book or Canon of Yao. The second part consists of the Books of Yu, of which there are four, all very short. These two parts of the Shu are probably not contemporary with the events they relate. They employ more than once the words, "Examining into antiquity we find."

The remaining and much more extensive parts of the Shu are probably contemporaneous records. Part three contains four documents of the Hsia Dynasty (2205-1767 B.C.), the oldest clearly established family, or dynasty, of Chinese kings. Part four contains eleven documents of the Shang or Yin Dynasty (1766-1123 B.C.). Part five, which is much the longest, contains thirty documents, some of them fairly long, relating to the Chau Dynasty, which succeeded that of Shang and was still in power in the days of Confucius.

A brief glance at early Chinese history will help the reader much in understanding the opening of the Shu. About three thousand years before Christ the earliest Chinese hero Fu-shi, and his successors, built up a little kingdom which in civilization and in strength outranked the more barbaric peoples around it. By the time of Yao (2357 B.C.), the first king mentioned in the Shu, this kingdom included twelve lesser regions or dukedoms. It had become a land of light in the midst of surrounding darkness, though we need not believe it so pure and so invincible, nor its chief men so humble and self-sacrificing as they are pictured in the Book of Yao. Yao was idealized in later times as a perfect monarch and his epoch as a golden age.

During Yao's reign a deluge, or an overflow of the great rivers of China, is said to have desolated the land. Prosperity was restored and future inundations guarded against by the energy and engineering skill of a remarkable man, Yu. He cut through mountains and made the gorges by which the mighty waters of the Yang-tze-kiang now reach the sea. Yu was later rewarded, not by the monarch Yao, but by Yao's successor Shun, who made Yu the chief man of the kingdom, the "General Regulator," or king's deputy, and heir to the throne. Hence Yu in time became king.

Each earlier ruler was supposed to have appointed as his successor the ablest man in the kingdom. King Yu changed this plan to the modern one of appointing his own son and holding the kingship as an hereditary property. He thus founded the first continuous Chinese dynasty, that of Hsia; and naturally his descendants kept his memory fully in view. The earliest document of the Shu was probably written in this dynasty of Hsia; because while the book speaks of King Yao it prepares the way for the tabulation of the labors of Yu, which were to bring him to the kingship. Yu himself appears in the next book, which is honored like the first by being called a sacred book or "Canon." None of the later books of the Shu is thus sanctified.

The descendants of Yu soon degenerated. They became evil kings, and were driven from the throne by a revolution. This was headed by Thang, a prince of the family of Shang. So Thang, the "Fulfiller" or "Completer" of the early empire, becomes the next great hero. His deeds and praises occupy much of the fourth part of the Shu. His family, the Shang Dynasty, held rule for six hundred years; then they too were expelled by a revolution brought about, according to the Shu, by their degenerate wickedness.

This brings us to the final part of the Shu, which deals with the Chau Dynasty. Its hero-leaders of the struggle against the Shang tyrants were Duke Wan, who died in the contest, and his son Duke Wu. They were the rulers of the State of Chau, until Wu, by his final victory, became

king. Wu then honored his dead father by ranking him also as a king.

By the time of Confucius the power of the Chau kings had almost entirely disappeared. They still retained a nominal leadership, but each little State of their empire was really a separate monarchy, and the dukes or princes warred against one another. As for the ancient histories, preserved from more peaceful days, most of these had perished. The present Shu is the remnant of them, preserved because of the teachings of Confucius.

THE SHU KING

PART I.—THE SACRED BOOK OF YAO

1. Examining into antiquity, we find that the Ti Yao¹ was styled Fang-hsun. He was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful — naturally and without effort. He was sincerely courteous, and capable of all complaisance. The bright influence of these qualities was felt through the four quarters of the land, and reached to heaven above and earth beneath.

He made the able and virtuous distinguished, and thence proceeded to the love of all in the nine classes of his kindred, who thus became harmonious. He also regulated and polished the people of his domain, who all became brightly intelligent. Finally, he united and harmonized the myriad States; and so the black-haired people were transformed. The result was universal concord.

2. He commanded the Hsis and Hos,² in reverent accordance with their observation of the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate the movements and appearances of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces, and so to deliver respectfully the seasons to be observed by the people.

He separately commanded the second brother Hsi to reside at Yu-i, in which was called the Bright Valley, and there respectfully to receive as a guest the rising sun, and to adjust and arrange the labors of the spring. "The day," said he, "is of the medium length, and the star is in Niao — you

¹ Yao is to us now the name of the ancient ruler so denominated. The character means "high," "lofty and grand." It may originally have been an epithet, "the Exalted One." Ti means "the Supreme Lord." It is applied without distinction to the supreme god and to Chinese kings.

² The Hsis and Hos seem to have been brothers of two families, on whom devolved the care of the calendar, principally with a view to regulate the seasons of agriculture.

may thus exactly determine mid-spring. The people are dispersed in the fields, and birds and beasts breed and copulate."

He further commanded the third brother Hsi to reside at Nan-chiao, in what was called the Brilliant Capital, to adjust and arrange the transformations of the summer, and respectfully to observe the exact limit of the shadow. "The day," said he, "is at its longest, and the star is in Hwo; you may thus exactly determine mid-summer. The people are more dispersed; and birds and beasts have their feathers and hair thin, and change their coats."

He separately commanded the second brother Ho to reside at the west, in what was called the Dark Valley, and there respectfully to convoy the setting sun, and to adjust and arrange the completing labors of the autumn. "The night," said he, "is of the medium length, and the star is in Hsu; you may thus exactly determine mid-autumn. The people feel at ease, and birds and beasts have their coats in good condition."

He further commanded the third brother Ho to reside in the northern region, in what was called the Somber Capital, and there to adjust and examine the changes of the winter. "The day," said he, "is at its shortest, and the star is in Mao; you may thus exactly determine mid-winter. The people keep in their houses, and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick."

The Ti said, "Ah! you, Hsis and Hos, a round year consists of three hundred, sixty, and six days. Do you, by means of the intercalary month, fix the four seasons, and complete the period of the year. Thereafter, the various officers being regulated in accordance with this, all the works of the year will be fully performed."

3. The Ti said, "Who will search out for me a man according to the times, whom I can raise and employ?" Fang-chi said, "Your heir-son Chu³ is highly intelligent." The Ti said, "Alas! he is insincere and quarrelsome; can he do?"

³ In Part II, Yu speaks of this son of Yao as "the haughty Chu of Tan," Tan probably being the name of a State, over which, according to tradition, he had been appointed.

The Ti said, "Who will search out for me a man equal to the exigency of my affairs?" Hwan-tau⁴ said, "Oh! the merits of the Minister of Works have just been displayed on a wide scale." The Ti said, "Alas! when all is quiet, he talks; but when employed, his actions turn out differently. He is respectful only in appearance. See! the floods assail the heavens!"

The Ti said, "Ho! President of the Four Mountains,⁵ destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation. In their vast extent they embrace the hills and overtop the great heights, threatening the heavens with their floods, so that the lower people groan and murmur! Is there a capable man to whom I can assign the correction of this calamity?" All in the court said, "Ah! is there not Khwan?"⁶ The Ti said, "Alas! how perverse is he! He is disobedient to orders, and tries to injure his peers." The President of the Mountains said, "Well but —. Try if he can accomplish the work." Khwan was employed accordingly. The Ti said to him, "Go; and be reverent!" For nine years he labored, but the work was unaccomplished.

The Ti said, "Ho! President of the Four Mountains, I have been on the throne seventy years. You can carry out my commands; I will resign my place to you." The Chief said, "I have not the virtue; I should disgrace your place." The Ti said, "Show me some one among the illustrious, or set forth one from among the poor and mean." All then said to the Ti, "There is an unmarried man among the lower people, called Shun of Yu." The Ti said, "Yes, I have heard of him. What have you to say about him?" The

⁴ Hwan-tau and the Minister of Works, whom he recommends, appear in the next Book as great criminals.

⁵ President of the Four Mountains, or simply Four Mountains, appears to have been the title of the chief minister of Yao. The four mountains were: mount Thai in the east; Hwa in the west, in Shan-hsi; Hang in the south, in Hu-nan; and Hang in the north, in Chih-li. These, probably, were the limits of the country, so far as known, and all within these points were the care of the chief minister.

⁶ Khwan is believed to have been the father of Yu, who afterwards coped successfully with the inundation. We are told that he was earl of Chung, corresponding to the present district of Hu, in Shen-hsi.

Chief said, "He is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately unprincipled; his step-mother was insincere; his half-brother Hsiang was arrogant. He has been able, however, by his filial piety to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to self-government, so that they no longer proceed to great wickedness." The Ti said, "I will try him; I will wive him, and thereby see his behavior with my two daughters." Accordingly he arranged and sent down his two daughters to the north of the Kwei,⁷ to be wives in the family of Yu.⁸ The Ti said to them, "Be reverent!"

⁷ The Kwei is a small stream in Shan-hsi, which flows into the Ho.

⁸ That is to say, the family of Shun of Yu. This district called Yu must not be confused with the hero Yu who first appears in the next book. There is merely a chance similarity of names.

THE SHU KING

PART II.—THE BOOKS OF YU

BOOK I.—THE SACRED BOOK OF SHUN

1. Examining into antiquity, we find that the Ti Shun ¹ was styled Chung-hwa.² His character was entirely conformed to that of the former Ti; he was profound, wise, accomplished, and intelligent. He was mild and courteous, and truly sincere. The report of his mysterious virtue was heard on high, and he was appointed to office.

2. Shun carefully set forth the beauty of the five cardinal duties, and they came to be universally observed. Being appointed to be General Regulator, the affairs of every official department were arranged in their proper seasons. Being charged to receive the princes from the four quarters of the land, they were all docilely submissive. Being sent to the great plains at the foot of the mountains, notwithstanding the tempests of wind, thunder, and rain, he did not go astray.

The Ti said, "Come, you Shun. I have consulted you on all affairs, and examined your words, and found that they can be carried into practise — now for three years. Do you ascend the seat of the Ti." Shun wished to decline in favor of some one more virtuous, and not to consent to be Yao's successor. On the first day of the first month, however, he received Yao's retirement from his duties, in the temple of the Accomplished Ancestor.³

3. He examined the pearl-adorned turning sphere, with its

¹ If Shun be taken as an epithet, it will mean "the Benevolent and Sage."

² Chung-hwa, the name of Shun according to the Han scholars, may mean "the Glorious Yao repeated."

³ The Accomplished Ancestor would be, probably, the individual in some distant time to whom Yao traced his possession of the throne.

transverse tube of jade, and reduced to a harmonious system the movements of the Seven Directors.⁴

Thereafter he sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to God; sacrificed with reverent purity to the Six Honored Ones; offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the host of spirits.⁵

He called in all the five jade-symbols of rank; and when the month was over, he gave daily audience to the President of the Four Mountains, and all the Pastors,⁶ finally returning their symbols to the various princes.

In the second month of the year he made a tour of inspection eastward, as far as Thai-tsung, where he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and sacrificed in order to the hills and rivers. Thereafter he gave audience to the princes of the east. He set in accord their seasons and months, and regulated the days; he made uniform the standard-tubes, with the measures of length and of capacity, and the steel-yards; he regulated the five classes of ceremonies, with the various articles of introduction — the five symbols of jade, the three kinds of silk, the two living animals and the one dead one. As to the five instruments of rank, when all was over, he returned them. In the fifth month he made a similar tour southward, as far as the mountain of the south, where he observed the same ceremonies as at Thai. In the eighth month he made a tour westward, as far as the mountain of the west, where he did as before. In the eleventh month he made a tour northward, as far as the mountain of the north, where he observed the same ceremonies, as in the west. He then returned to the capital, went to the temple of the Cultivated Ancestor, and sacrificed a single bull.

In five years there was one tour of inspection, and there

⁴ Probably the seven stars of the Great Bear.

⁵ Who the Six Honored Ones were can not be determined with certainty. An-kwo thought they were, "the seasons, cold and heat, the sun, the moon, the stars, and drought," that is, certain spirits, supposed to rule over these phenomena and things, and residing probably in different stars. The whole paragraph describes Shun's exercise of the prerogative of the sovereign, so far as religious worship was concerned.

⁶ The princes of the various States, whose official chief was the President of the Four Mountains, all "shepherds of men."

were four appearances of the princes at court. They gave a report of their government in words, which was clearly tested by their works. They received chariots and robes according to their merits.

He instituted the division of the land into twelve provinces,⁷ raising altars upon twelve hills in them. He also deepened the rivers.

He exhibited to the people the statutory punishments, enacting banishment as a mitigation of the five great inflictions;⁸ with the whip to be employed in the magistrates' courts, the stick to be employed in schools,⁹ and money to be received for redeemable offenses. Inadvertent offenses and those which could be ascribed to misfortune were to be pardoned, but those who transgressed presumptuously and repeatedly were to be punished with death. "Let me be reverent! Let me be reverent!" he said to himself. "Let compassion rule in punishment!"

He banished the Minister of Works to Yu island; confined Hwan-tau on mount Chung; drove the chief of San-maio and his people into San-wei, and kept them there; and held Khwan a prisoner till death on mount Yu. These four criminals being thus dealt with, all under heaven acknowledged the justice of Shun's administration.¹⁰

4. After twenty-eight years the Ti deceased, when the people mourned for him as for a parent for three years. Within the four seas all the eight kinds of instruments of music were stopped and hushed. On the first day of the first month of the next year, Shun went to the temple of the Accomplished Ancestor.

5. He deliberated with the President of the Four Moun-

⁷ As Yu, according to Part III, divided the land into nine provinces, this division of it into twelve must have been subsequent to the completion of Yu's work.

⁸ Those five great inflictions were: branding on the forehead; cutting off the nose; cutting off the feet; castration; and death, inflicted in various ways.

⁹ This punishment was for officers in training; not for boys at school.

¹⁰ The Minister of Works, Hwan-tau, and Khwan are mentioned in the former Canon. Yu island, or Yu Chau, was in the extreme north of the present district of Mi-yun.

tains how to throw open the doors of communication between himself and the four quarters of the land, and how he could see with the eyes, and hear with the ears of all.

He consulted with the twelve Pastors,¹¹ and said to them, "The food! — it depends on observing the seasons. Be kind to the distant, and cultivate the ability of the near. Give honor to the virtuous, and your confidence to the good, while you discountenance the artful; so shall the barbarous tribes lead on one another to make their submission."

Shun said, "Ho, President of the Four Mountains, is there any one who can with vigorous service attend to all the affairs of the Ti, whom I may appoint to be General Regulator, to assist me in all affairs, managing each department according to its nature?" All in the court replied, "There is Po-yu,¹² the Minister of Works." The Ti said, "Yes. Ho! Yu, you have regulated the water and the land. In this new office exert yourself." Yu did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favor of the Minister of Agriculture, or Hsieh, or Kao-yao. The Ti said, "Yes, but do you go and undertake the duties."

The Ti said, "Chi,¹³ the black-haired people are still suffering from famine. Do you, O prince, as Minister of Agriculture, continue to sow for them the various kinds of grain."

The Ti said, "Hsieh,¹⁴ the people are still wanting in affection for one another, and do not docilely observe the five orders of relationship. It is yours, as the Minister of Instruction, reverently to set forth the lessons of duty belonging to those five orders. Do so with gentleness."

The Ti said, "Kao-yao, the barbarous tribes trouble our great land. There are also robbers, murderers, insurgents,

¹¹ These were the twelve princes holding the chief sway and superintendence in his twelve provinces.

¹² Po-yu is the great Yu, the founder of the Hsia Dynasty. Po denotes, probably, his order as the eldest among his brothers.

¹³ Chi was the name of the Minister of Agriculture, better known in the Shih and other books as Hau-chi, the progenitor of the kings of Chau.

¹⁴ Hsieh was honored by the kings of the Shang Dynasty as their progenitor.

and traitors. It is yours, as the Minister of Crime, to use the five punishments to deal with their offenses. For the infliction of these there are the three appointed places. There are the five cases in which banishment in the appropriate places is to be resorted to, to which places, though five, three localities are assigned. Perform your duties with intelligence, and you will secure a sincere submission."

The Ti said, "Who can superintend my works, as they severally require?" All in the court replied, "Is there not Tsui?"¹⁵ The Ti said, "Yes. Ho! Tsui, you must be Minister of Works." Tsui did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favor of Shu, Chiang, or Po-yu. The Ti said, "Yes, but do you go and undertake the duties. Effect a harmony in all the departments."

The Ti said, "Who can superintend, as the nature of the charge requires, the grass and trees, with the birds and beasts on my hills and in my marshes?" All in the court replied, "Is there not Yi?"¹⁶ The Ti said, "Yes. Ho! Yi, do you be my Forester." Yi did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favor of Chu, Hu, Hsiung, or Pi.¹⁶ The Ti said, "Yes, but do you go and undertake the duties. You must manage them harmoniously."

The Ti said, "Ho! President of the Four Mountains, is there any one able to direct my three religious ceremonies?"¹⁷ All in the court answered, "Is there not Po-i?"¹⁸ The Ti said, "Yes. Ho! Po, you must be the Arranger in the Ancestral Temple. Morning and night be

¹⁵ Tsui was not claimed by any great family as its progenitor, but he was handed down by tradition as a great artificer. Shu and Chiang must have been named from their skill in making halberds and axes. The Yu (quite different from the name of the great Yu) in Po-yu gives us no indication of the skill of that individual.

¹⁶ For Yi, see the note to Book iv. He wishes here to decline his appointment in favor of Chu ("The Cedar"), Hu ("The Tiger"), Hsiung ("The Bear"), or Pi ("The Grizzly Bear").

¹⁷ The three ceremonies were the observances in the worship of the Spirits of Heaven, the Spirits of Earth, and the Spirits of Men.

¹⁸ Po-i was the progenitor of the great family of Chiang, members of which ruled in Chi and other States.

reverent. Be upright, be pure." Po did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favor of Khwei or Lung. The Ti said, "Yes, but do you go and undertake the duties. Be reverential!"

The Ti said, "Khwei,¹⁹ I appoint you to be Director of Music, and to teach our sons, so that the straightforward shall yet be mild; the gentle, dignified; the strong, not tyrannical; and the impetuous, not arrogant. Poetry is the expression of earnest thought; singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression; the notes accompany that utterance, and they are harmonized themselves by the standard-tubes. In this way the eight different kinds of musical instruments can be adjusted so that one shall not take or interfere with another; and spirits and men are brought into harmony."

Khwei then said, "I smite the sounding-stone, I gently strike it, and the various animals lead on one another to dance."

The Ti said, "Lung,²⁰ I abominate slanderous speakers and destroyers of the right ways, who agitate and alarm my people. I appoint you to be the Minister of Communication. Early and late give forth my orders and report to me, seeing that everything is true."

The Ti said, "Ho! you, twenty and two men, be reverent; so shall you be helpful to the business entrusted to me by Heaven."

Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving were degraded, and the deserving advanced. By this arrangement the duties of all the departments were fully discharged; the people of San-miao also were discriminated and separated.

6. In the thirtieth year of his age Shun was called to employment. Thirty years he was on the throne with Yao. Fifty years afterward he went on high and died.

¹⁹ Of Khwei we know nothing more than what is here told us. The character denotes a monstrous animal, "a dragon with one leg."

²⁰ We are in ignorance of Lung, as we are of Khwei. The character denotes "the dragon."

BOOK II.—THE COUNSELS¹ OF THE GREAT YU

1. Examining into antiquity, we find that the Great Yu² was styled Wan-ming.³ Having arranged and divided the land, all to the four seas, in reverent response to the Ti, he said, "If the sovereign can realize the difficulty of his sovereignty, and the minister the difficulty of his ministry, the government will be well ordered, and the black-haired people will sedulously seek to be virtuous."

The Ti said, "Yes; let this really be the case, and good words will nowhere lie hidden; no men of virtue and talents will be left neglected, away from court, and the myriad States will all enjoy repose. But to obtain the views of all; to give up one's opinion and follow that of others; to keep from oppressing the helpless, and not to neglect the straitened and poor — it was only the former Ti who could attain to this."

Yi said, "Oh! your virtue, O Ti, is vast and incessant. It is sagely, spirit-like, awe-inspiring, and adorned with all accomplishments. Great Heaven regarded you with its favor, and bestowed on you its appointment. Suddenly you possessed all within the four seas, and became ruler of all under heaven."

Yu said, "Accordance with the right leads to good fortune; following what is opposed to it, to bad — the shadow and the echo." Yi said, "Alas! be cautious! Admonish yourself to caution, when there seems to be no occasion for anxiety. Do not fail to observe the laws and ordinances. Do not find your enjoyment in idleness. Do not go to excess in pleasure. In your employment of men of worth, let none come between you and them. Put away evil without hesitation. Do not carry out plans, of the wisdom of which you

¹ Of the six classes of documents in the Shu, "Counsels" are the second, containing the wise remarks and suggestions of high officers on the subject of government.

² The name Yu, taken as an epithet, would mean "the Unconstrained." As an epithet after death, it has the meaning of "Receiving the Resignation and Perfecting the Merit"; but this is evidently based on the commonly received history of Yu.

³ Wan-ming may be translated, "the Accomplished and the Issuer of Commands."

have doubts. Study that all your purposes may be with the light of reason. Do not go against what is right, to get the praise of the people. Do not oppose the people's wishes, to follow your own desires. Attend to these things without idleness or omission, and the barbarous tribes all around will come and acknowledge your sovereignty."

Yu said, "O! think of these things, O Ti. The virtue of the ruler is seen in his good government, and that government in the nourishing of the people. There are water, fire, metal, wood, the earth, and grain — these must be duly regulated; there are the rectification of the people's virtue, the tools and other things that supply the conveniences of life, and the securing abundant means of sustentation — these must be harmoniously attended to. When the nine services thus indicated have been orderly accomplished, that accomplishment will be hailed by the people's songs. Caution them with gentle words, correct them with the majesty of law, stimulate them with the songs on those nine subjects, in order that your success may not suffer diminution." The Ti said, "The earth has been reduced to order, and the influences of heaven produce their complete effect; those six magazines and three departments of governmental action are all truly regulated, and may be depended on for a myriad generations; this is your merit."

2. The Ti said, "Come, you Yu. I have occupied my place for thirty and three years. I am between ninety and a hundred years old, and the laborious duties weary me. Do you, eschewing all indolence, take the leading of my people." Yu replied, "My virtue is not equal to the position, and the people will not repose in me. But there is Kao-yao with vigorous activity sowing abroad his virtue, which has descended on the black-haired people, till they cherish him in their hearts. O Ti, think of him! When I think of him, my mind rests on him as the man fit for this place; when I would put him out of my thoughts, my mind still rests on him; when I name and speak of him, my mind rests on him for this; the sincere outgoing of my thoughts about him is that he is the man. O Ti, think of his merits."

The Ti said, "Kao-yao, that of these my ministers and all my people hardly one is found to offend against the regulations of the government is owing to your being Minister of Crime, and intelligent in the use of the five punishments, thereby assisting the inculcation of the five cardinal duties, with a view to the perfection of my government, and that through punishment there may come to be no punishments, but the people accord with the path of the Mean. Continue to be strenuous." Kao-yao replied, "Your virtue, O Ti, is faultless. You condescend to your ministers with a kindly ease; you preside over the multitudes with a generous forbearance. Punishments do not extend to the criminal's heirs, while rewards reach to succeeding generations. You pardon inadvertent faults, however great, and punish purposed crimes, however small. In cases of doubtful crimes, you deal with them lightly; in cases of doubtful merit, you prefer the high estimation. Rather than put an innocent person to death, you will run the risk of irregularity and error. This life-loving virtue has penetrated the minds of the people, and this is why they do not render themselves liable to be punished by your officers." The Ti said, "That I am able to follow and obtain what I desire in my government, the people responding everywhere as if moved by the wind — this is your excellence."

The Ti said, "Come Yu. The inundating waters filled me with dread, when you accomplished truly all that you had represented, and completed your service; thus showing your superiority to other men. Full of toilsome earnestness in the service of the country, and sparing in your expenditure on your family, and this without being full of yourself and elated, you again show your superiority to other men. You are without any prideful assumption, but no one under heaven can contest with you the palm of ability; you make no boasting, but no one under heaven can contest with you the palm of merit. I see how great is your virtue, how admirable your vast achievements. The determinate appointment of Heaven rests on your person; you must eventually ascend the throne of the great sovereign. The mind of

man is restless, prone to err; its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform in the pursuit of what is right, that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean. Do not listen to unsubstantiated words; do not follow plans about which you have not sought counsel. Of all who are to be loved, is not the ruler the chief? Of all who are to be feared, are not the people the chief? If the multitude were without their sovereign Head, whom should they sustain aloft? If the sovereign had not the multitude, there would be none to guard the country for him. Be reverential! Carefully maintain the throne which you are to occupy, cultivating the virtues that are to be desired in you. If within the four seas there be distress and poverty, your Heaven-conferred revenues will come to a perpetual end. It is the mouth which sends forth what is good, and raises up war. I will not alter my words."

Yu said, "Submit the meritorious ministers one by one to the trial of divination, and let the favoring indication be followed." The Ti replied, "According to the rules for the regulation of divination, one should first make up his mind, and afterward refer his judgment to the great tortoise-shell. My mind in this matter was determined in the first place; I consulted and deliberated with all my ministers and people, and they were of one accord with me. The spirits signified their assent, and the tortoise-shell and divining stalks concurred. Divination, when fortunate, should not be repeated." Yu did obeisance with his head to the ground, and firmly declined the place. The Ti said, "You must not do so. It is you who can suitably occupy my place." On the first morning of the first month, Yu received the appointment in the temple dedicated by Shun to the spirits of his ancestors,⁴ and took the leading of all the officers, as had been done by the Ti at the commencement of his government.

3. The Ti said, "Alas! O Yu, there is only the lord of

⁴ Many contend that this was the ancestral temple of Yao. But we learn from Confucius, in the seventeenth chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean, that Shun had established such a temple for his own ancestors, which must be that intended here.

Miao⁵ who refuses obedience; do you go and correct him." Yu on this assembled all the princes, and made a speech to the host, saying, "Ye multitudes here arrayed, listen all of you to my orders. Stupid is this lord of Miao, ignorant, erring, and disrespectful. Despiteful and insolent to others, he thinks that all ability and virtue are with himself. A rebel to the right, he destroys all the obligations of virtue. Superior men are kept by him in obscurity, and mean men fill all the offices. The people reject him and will not protect him. Heaven is sending down calamities upon him. I therefore, along with you, my multitude of gallant men, bear the instructions of the Ti to punish his crimes. Do you proceed with united heart and strength, so shall our enterprise be crowned with success."

At the end of three decades, the people of Miao continued rebellious against the commands issued to them, when Yi came to the help of Yu, saying, "It is virtue that moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride brings loss, and humility receives increase; this is the way of Heaven. In the early time of the Ti, when he was living by mount Li,⁶ he went into the fields, and daily cried with tears to compassionate Heaven, and to his parents, taking to himself all guilt, and charging himself with their wickedness. At the same time with respectful service he appeared before Ku-sau, looking grave and awe-struck, till Ku also became transformed by his example. Entire sincerity moves spiritual beings; how much more will it move this lord of Miao!" Yu did homage to the excellent words, and said, "Yes." Thereupon he led back his army, having drawn off the troops. The Ti set about diffusing on a grand scale the virtuous influences of peace; with shields and feathers they

⁵ The lord of Miao against whom Yu proceeded would not be the one whom Shun banished to San-wei, as related in the former Book, but some chieftain of the whole or a portion of the people, who had been left in their native seat. That Yao, Shun, and Yu were all obliged to take active measures against the people of Miao, shows the difficulty with which the Chinese sway was established over the country.

⁶ Mount Li is found in a hill near Phu Chau, department of Phing-yang, Shan-hsi.

danced between the two staircases in his courtyard. In seventy days, the lord of Miao came and made his submission.

BOOK III.—THE COUNSELS OF KAO-YAO ¹

1. Examining into antiquity, we find that Kao-yao said, "If the sovereign sincerely pursues the course of his virtue, the counsels offered to him will be intelligent, and the aids of admonition that he receives will be harmonious." Yu said, "Yes, but explain yourself." Kao-yao said, "Oh! let him be careful about his personal cultivation, with thoughts that are far-reaching, and thus he will produce a generous kindness and nice observance of distinctions among the nine branches of his kindred. All the intelligent also will exert themselves in his service; and in this way from what is near he will reach to what is distant." Yu did homage to the excellent words, and said, "Yes." Kao-yao continued, "Oh! it lies in knowing men, and giving repose to the people." Yu said, "Alas! to attain to both these things might well be a difficulty even to the Ti. When the sovereign knows men, he is wise, and can put every one into the office for which he is fit. When he gives repose to the people, his kindness is felt, and the black-haired race cherish him in their hearts. When he can be thus wise and kind, what occasion will he have for anxiety about a Hwan-tau? what to be removing a lord of Miao? what to fear any one of fair words, insinuating appearance, and great artfulness?"

2. Kao-yao said, "Oh! there are in all nine virtues to be discovered in conduct, and when we say that a man possesses any virtue, that is as much as to say he does such and such

¹ Kao-yao was Minister of Crime to Shun, and is still celebrated in China as the model for all administrators of justice. There are few or no reliable details of his history. Sze-ma Chien says that Yu, on his accession to the throne, made Kao-yao his chief minister, with the view of his ultimately succeeding him, but that the design was frustrated by Kao-yao's death. But if there had been such a tradition in the time of Mencius, he would probably have mentioned it, when defending Yu from the charge of being inferior to Yao and Shun, who resigned the throne to the worthiest, whereas he transmitted it to his son.

things." Yu asked, "What are the nine virtues?" Kao-yao replied, "Affability combined with dignity; mildness combined with firmness; bluntness combined with respectfulness; aptness for government combined with reverent caution; docility combined with boldness; straightforwardness combined with gentleness; an easy negligence combined with discrimination; boldness combined with sincerity; and valor combined with righteousness. When these qualities are displayed, and that continuously, have we not the good officer? When there is a daily display of three of these virtues, their possessor could early and late regulate and brighten the clan of which he was made chief. When there is a daily severe and reverent cultivation of six of them, their possessor could brilliantly conduct the affairs of the State with which he was invested. When such men are all received and advanced, the possessors of those nine virtues will be employed in the public service. The men of a thousand and men of a hundred will be in their offices; the various ministers will emulate one another; all the officers will accomplish their duties at the proper times, observant of the five seasons as the several elements predominate in them, and thus their various duties will be fully accomplished. Let not the Son of Heaven set to the holders of States the example of indolence or dissoluteness. Let him be wary and fearful, remembering that in one day or two days there may occur ten thousand springs of things. Let him not have his various officers cumberers of their places. The work is Heaven's; men must act for it!"

3. "From Heaven are the social relationships with their several duties; we are charged with the enforcement of those five duties; and lo! we have the five courses of honorable conduct.² From Heaven are the social distinctions with their several ceremonies; from us come the observances of those five ceremonies; and lo! they appear in regular practise.³

² The five duties are those belonging to the five relationships, which are the constituents of society: those between husband and wife, father and son, ruler and subject, eldest brother and younger, friend and friend.

³ The five ceremonies are here those belonging to the distinctions of rank in connection with the five constituent relations of society.

When sovereign and ministers show a common reverence and united respect for these, lo! the moral nature of the people is made harmonious. Heaven graciously distinguishes the virtuous; are there not the five habiliments, five decorations of them? Heaven punishes the guilty; are there not the five punishments, to be severally used for that purpose? The business of government! — ought we not to be earnest in it? ought we not to be earnest in it?

“Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see; Heaven brightly approves and displays its terrors as our people brightly approve and would awe — such connection is there between the upper and lower worlds. How reverent ought the masters of territories to be!”

4. Kao-yao said, “My words are in accordance with reason, and may be put in practise.” Yu said, “Yes, your words may be put in practise, and crowned with success.” Kao-yao added, “As to that I do not know, but I wish daily to be helpful. May the government be perfected!”

BOOK IV.—THE YI AND CHI ¹

1. The Ti said, “Come Yu, you also must have excellent words to bring before me.” Yu did obeisance, and said, “Oh! what can I say, O Ti, after Kao-yao? I can only think of maintaining a daily assiduity.” Kao-yao said, “Alas! will you describe it?” Yu replied, “The inundating waters seemed to assail the heavens, and in their vast extent embraced the hills and overtopped the great mounds, so that the people were bewildered and overwhelmed. I mounted my four conveyances, and all along the hills hewed down the trees, at the same time, along with Yi, showing the multitudes how to get flesh to eat. I also opened passages for the streams throughout the nine provinces, and

¹ Yi and Chi, the names of Shun's Forester and Minister of Agriculture, both of whom receive their appointments in Book i, occur near the commencement of this Book, and occasion is thence taken to give its title to the whole. But without good reason; for these worthies do not appear at all as interlocutors in it. Yu is the principal speaker; the Book belongs to the class of “Counsels.”

conducted them to the four seas. I deepened, moreover, the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, sowing grain, at the same time, along with Chi, and showing the multitudes how to procure the food of toil, in addition to the flesh meat. I urged them further to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. In this way all the people got grain to eat, and the myriad regions began to come under good rule." Kao-yao said, "Yes, we ought to model ourselves after your excellent words."

Yu said, "Oh! carefully maintain, O Ti, the throne which you occupy." The Ti replied, "Yes"; and Yu went on, "Find your repose in your proper resting-point. Attend to the springs of things; study stability; and let your assistants be the upright; then shall your movements be grandly responded to, as if the people only waited for your will. Thus you will brightly receive the favor of God; will not Heaven renew its appointment of you, and give you blessing?"

The Ti said, "Alas! what are ministers? — are they not my associates? What are associates? — are they not my ministers?" Yu replied, "Yes"; and the Ti went on, "My ministers constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. I wish to help and support my people; you give effect to my wishes. I wish to spread the influence of my government through the four quarters; you act as my agents. I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients — the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the dragons, and the flowery fowl (the pheasant), which are depicted on the upper garment; the temple cups, the pondweed, the flames, the grains of rice, the hatchet, and the symbol of distinction, which are embroidered on the lower garment — I wish to see all these fully displayed in the five colors, so as to form the ceremonial robes; it is yours to see them clearly for me. I wish to hear the six pitch-tubes, the five notes determined by them, and the eight kinds of musical instruments regulated again by these, examining thereby the virtues and defects of government, according as the odes that go forth from the court, set to music, and come in from the people, are

ordered by those five notes; it is yours to hear them for me. When I am doing wrong, it is yours to correct me; do not follow me to my face, and, when you have retired, have other remarks to make. Be reverent, ye associates, who are before and behind and on each side of me! As to all the obstinately stupid and calumniating talkers, who are found not to be doing what is right, are there not — the target to exhibit their true character,² the scourge to make them recollect, and the book of remembrance?³ Do we not wish them to live along with us? There are also the masters of music to receive their compositions, set them to music, and continually publish them as corrected by themselves. If they become reformed they are to be received and employed; if they do not, let the terrors of punishment overtake them.”

Yu said, “So far, good! But let your light shine, O Ti, all under heaven, even to every grassy corner of the seashore, and throughout the myriad regions the most worthy of the people will all wish to be your ministers. Then, O Ti, you may advance them to office. They will set forth, and you will receive, their reports; you will make proof of them according to their merits; you will confer chariots and robes according to their services. Who will then dare not to cultivate a humble virtue? who will dare not to respond to you with reverence? If you, O Ti, do not act thus, all your ministers together will daily proceed to a meritless character.”

“Be not haughty like Chu of Tan,⁴ who found his pleasure only in indolence and dissipation, and pursued a proud, oppressive course. Day and night without ceasing he was

² Archery was anciently made much of in China, and supposed to be a test of character. Unworthy men would not be found hitting frequently, and observing the various rules of the exercise. Confucius more than once spoke of archery as a discipline of virtue; see “Analects.”

³ In the Official Book of Chau, the heads of districts are required to keep a register of the characters of the people. Shun’s Book of Remembrance would be a record on wood or cloth. The reference implies the use of writing.

⁴ This was the son of Yao. He must have been made lord of some principality, called Tan.

thus. He would make boats go where there was no water. He introduced licentious associates into his family. The consequence was that he brought the prosperity of his house to an end. I took warning from his course. When I married in Thu-shan,⁵ I remained with my wife only the days hsin, tsan, kwei, and chia. When my son Chi was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labor on the land. Then I assisted in completing the five Tenures,⁶ extending over 5000 li;⁷ in appointing in the provinces twelve Tutors, and in establishing in the regions beyond, reaching to the four seas, five Presidents. These all pursue the right path, and are meritorious; but there are still the people of Miao, who obstinately refuse to render their service. Think of this, O Ti." The Ti said, "That my virtue is followed is the result of your meritorious services so orderly displayed. And now Kao-yao, entering respectfully into your arrangements, is on every hand displaying the various punishments, as represented, with entire intelligence."

2. Khwei said, "When the sounding-stone is tapped or struck with force, and the lutes are strongly swept or gently touched, to accompany the singing, the progenitors of the Ti come to the service, the guest of Yu⁸ is in his place, and all the princes show their virtue in giving place to one another. In the court below the hall there are the flutes and hand-drums, which join in at the sound of the rattle, and cease at that of the stopper, when the organ and bells take their place. This makes birds and beasts fall moving. When the nine parts of the service, as arranged by the Ti, have all been performed, the male and female phoenix come with their measured gambolings into the court."

Khwei said, "Oh! when I smite the sounding-stone, or gently strike it, the various animals lead on one another to

⁵ Yu married the daughter of the lord of Thu-shan, a principality in the present department of Fang-yung, An-hui.

⁶ See in the Tribute of Yu.

⁷ The *li* is what is called the Chinese mile, generally reckoned to be 360 paces.

⁸ Chu of Tan.

dance,⁹ and all the chiefs of the official departments become truly harmonious."

3. The Ti on this made a song, saying, "We must deal cautiously with the favoring appointment of Heaven, at every moment and in the smallest particular." He then sang,

"When the members work joyfully,
The head rises grandly;
And the duties of all the offices are fully discharged!"

Kao-yao did obeisance with his head to his hands and then to the ground, and with a loud and rapid voice said, "Think, O Ti. It is yours to lead on and originate things. Pay careful attention to your laws in doing so. Be reverential! and often examine what has been accomplished by your officers. Be reverential!" With this he continued the song,

"When the head is intelligent,
The members are good;
And all affairs will be happily performed!"

Again he continued the song,

"When the head is vexatious,
The members are idle;
And all affairs will go to ruin!"

The Ti said, "Yes, go and be reverently attentive to your duties."

⁹ These last words of Khwei have already appeared in Book i, 5. They are more in place here, though this second chapter has no apparent connection with what precedes. "The stone" is the sonorous stone formed, often in the shape of a carpenter's square, into a musical instrument, still seen everywhere in China.

THE SHU KING

PART III.—THE BOOKS OF HSIA¹BOOK I.—THE TRIBUTE² OF YU

Section 1

1. Yu divided the land. Following the course of the hills, he cut down the trees. He determined the highest hills and largest rivers in the several regions.

2. With respect to Chi Chau,³ he did his work at Hu-khau, and took effective measures at the mountains Liang and Chi. Having repaired the works on Thai-yuan, he proceeded on

¹ Hsia is the dynastic designation under which Yu and his descendants held the throne for 439 years (2205–1767 B.C.). On the conclusion of his labors, according to what was the universally accepted tradition in the Chau period, Yu was appointed by Yao to be earl of Hsia, a small principality in Ho-nan, identified with the present Yu-chau, department of Khai-fang, which thus still retains the name of Yu.

² The word "Tribute" in the name of this first Book is not to be understood only in the sense of a contribution paid by one nation to another in acknowledgment of subjection, but also as the contribution of revenue paid by subjects to their proper ruler. The term, moreover, gives a very inadequate idea of the contents, which describe generally the labors of Yu in remedying the disasters occasioned by the inundation with which he had to cope, and how he then defined the boundaries of the different provinces, made other important territorial divisions, and determined the quality of the soil in each province, and the proportion of revenue it should pay, with other particulars. The Book, if we could fully credit it, would be a sort of domesday book of China in the twenty-third century B.C., in the compass of a few pages.

³ Chi Chau embraced the present provinces of Shan-hsi, Chih-li, the three most northern departments of Ho-nan, and the western portion of Liao-tung. It had the Ho — what we call the Yellow river — on three sides of it. On the west was all that part of the Ho which forms the dividing line between Shen-hsi and Shan-hsi. At the southwestern corner of Shan-hsi, the Ho turns to the east: and in Yu's time it flowed eastward to about the place where Chih-li, Shan-tung, and Ho-nan all touch, forming the southern boundary of Chi Chau. Thence it ran north and east, till its waters entered the present gulf of Chih-li, forming, so far, the eastern boundary of the province. The northern boundary must be left undefined.

to the south of mount Yo. He was successful with his labors on Tan-hwai, and went on to the cross-flowing stream of Chang.

The soil of this province was whitish and mellow. Its contribution of revenue was the highest of the highest class, with some proportion of the second. Its fields were the average of the middle class.

The waters of the Hang and Wei were brought to their proper channels, and Ta-lu was made capable of cultivation.

The wild people of the islands brought dresses of skins (*i.e.*, fur dresses); keeping close on the right to the rocks of Chieh, they entered the Ho.

3. Between the Chi and the Ho was Yen Chau.⁴

The nine branches of the Ho were made to keep their proper channels. Lei-hsia was made a marsh, in which the waters of the Yung and the Tsu were united. The mulberry grounds were made fit for silkworms, and then the people came down from the heights, and occupied the grounds below.

The soil of this province was blackish and rich; the grass in it was luxuriant, and the trees grew high. Its fields were the lowest of the middle class. Its contribution of revenue was fixed at what would just be deemed the correct amount; but it was not required from it, as from the other provinces, till after it had been cultivated for thirteen years. Its articles of tribute were varnish and silk, and, in baskets, woven ornamental fabrics.

They floated along the Chi and Tha, and so reached the Ho.

4. The sea and mount Tai were the boundaries of Ching Chau.⁵

⁴ Yen Chau was a small province, having the Ho on the north, the Chi on the south, the gulf of Chih-li on the east, and Yu Chau, Yu's seventh province, on the west. It embraced the department of Ta-ming, with portions of those of Ho-chien and Thien-ching, in Chih-li, and the department of Tung-chang, with portions of those of Chi-nan and Yen-chau, in Shan-tung.

⁵ Ching Chau, having mount Tai and Hsu Chau (the next province) on the west and south, Yen Chau and the sea on the northwest and the north, and the sea on the east and south, would be still smaller than

The territory of Yu-i was defined; and the Wei and Sze were made to keep their old channels.

Its soil was whitish and rich. Along the shore of the sea were wide tracts of salt land. Its fields were the lowest of the first class, and its contribution of revenue the highest of the second. Its articles of tribute were salt, fine cloth of dolichos fiber, productions of the sea of various kinds; with silk, hemp, lead, pine-trees, and strange stones, from the valleys of Tai. The wild people of Lai were taught tillage and pasturage, and brought in their baskets the silk from the mountain mulberry-tree.

They floated along the Wan, and so reached the Chi.

5. The sea, mount Tai, and the Hwai were the boundaries of Hsu Chau.⁶

The Hwai and the I rivers were regulated. The hills Mang and Yu were made fit for cultivation. The waters of Ta-yeh were confined so as to form a marsh; and the tract of Tung-yuan was successfully brought under management.

The soil of this province was red, clayey, and rich. Its grass and trees grew more and more bushy. Its fields were the second of the highest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the second. Its articles of tribute were: earth of five different colors, variegated pheasants from the valleys of mount Yu, the solitary dryandra from the south of mount Yi, and the sounding-stones that seemed to float

Yen Chau, and contain the three departments of Ching-chau, Lai-chau, and Teng-chau, with the western portion of that Chi-nan, in Shan-tung. From the text we should never suppose that it passed across the sea which washes the north and east of Shan-tung, and extended indefinitely into Liao-tung and Corla. This, however, is the view of many Chinese geographers.

⁶ The western boundary of Hsu Chau, which is not given in the text, was Yu Chau, and part of Ching Chau. It embraced the present department of Hsu-chau, the six districts—Thao-yuan, Ching-ho, An-tung, Hsu-Chien, Sui-ning, and Kan-yu, department of Hwai-an, with Phei Chau and Hai Chau—all in Chiang-su; the whole of Yen-chau department, Tung-phing Chau and the south of Phing-yin district in the department of Thai-an, the department of I-chau, and portions of those of Chi-nan and Ching-chau—all in Shan-tung; with the four districts Hwai-yuan, Wu-ho, Hung, and Ling-pi, department of Fang-yang, with Sze Chau and Hsu Chau—all in An-hui.

on the banks of the Sze. The wild tribes about the Hwai brought oyster-pearls and fish, and their baskets full of deep azure and other silken fabrics, checkered and pure white.

They floated along the Hwai and the Sze, and so reached the Ho.

6. The Hwai and the sea formed the boundaries of Yang Chau.⁷

The lake of Phang-li was confined to its proper limits, and the sun-birds (the wild geese) had places to settle on. The three Chiang were led to enter the sea, and it became possible to still the marsh of Chan. The bamboos, small and large, then spread about; the grass grew thin and long, and the trees rose high; the soil was miry.

The fields of this province were the lowest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the highest of the lowest class, with a proportion of the class above. Its articles of tribute were gold, silver, and copper; yao and khwan stones; bamboos, small and large; elephants' teeth, hides, feathers, hair, and timber. The wild people of the islands brought garments of grass, with silks woven in shell-patterns in their baskets. Their bundles contained small oranges and pummeloes — rendered when specially required.

They followed the course of the Chiang and the sea, and so reached the Hwai and the Sze.

7. Mount Ching and the south of mount Hang formed the boundaries of Ching Chau.⁸

⁷The Hwai was the boundary of Yang Chau on the north, and we naturally suppose that the other boundary mentioned, the sea, should be referred to the south of the province. If it were really so, Yang Chau must have extended along the coast as far as Cochin-China, and not a few Chinese scholars argue that it did so. But that no southern boundary of the province is mentioned may rather be taken as proving that when this Book was compiled, the country south of the Chiang — the present Yang-tze — was unknown.

Along the greater part of its course, the province was conterminous on the west with Ching Chau, and in the northwest with Yu Chau. We may safely assign to it the greater portion of An-hui, and a part of the department of Hwang-chau, in Hu-pei. All this would be the northern portion of the province. How far it extended southward into Che-chiang and Chiang-hsi, it is impossible to say.

⁸Mount Ching, which bounded Ching Chau on the north, is in the

The Chang and the Han pursued their common course to the sea, as if they were hastening to court. The nine Chiang were brought into complete order. The Tho and Chien streams were conducted by their proper channels. The land in the marsh of Yun became visible, and the marsh of Mang was made capable of cultivation.

The soil of this province was miry. Its fields were the average of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the highest class. Its articles of tribute were feathers, hair, elephants' teeth, and hides; gold, silver, and copper; chun trees, wood for bows, cedars, and cypresses; grindstones, whetstones, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and cinnabar; and the chun and lu bamboos, with the hu tree (all good for making arrows) — of which the Three Regions were able to contribute the best specimens. The three-ribbed rush was sent in bundles, put into cases. The baskets were filled with silken fabrics, azure and deep purple, and with strings of pearls that were not quite round. From the country of the nine Chiang, the great tortoise was presented when specially required and found.

They floated down the Chiang, the Tho, the Chien, and the Han, and crossed the country to the Lo, whence they reached the most southern part of the Ho.

8. The Ching mountain and the Ho were the boundaries of Yu Chau.⁹

The I, the Lo, the Chan, and the Chien were conducted to the Ho. The marsh of Yung-po was confined within its

department of Hsiang-yang, Hu-pei, and is called the southern Ching, to distinguish it from another mountain of the same name farther north in Yung Chau. Mount Hang, its southern boundary, is "the southern mountain" of the Canon of Shun in Hang-chau department, Hu-nan. Yang Chau was on the east, and the country on the west was almost unknown. Ching Chau contained the greater portion of the present provinces of Hu-pei and Hu-nan, and parts also of Kwei-chau and Sze-chuan. Some geographers also extend it on the south into Kwang-tung and Kwang-hsi, which is very unlikely.

⁹ Yu Chau was the central one of Yu's nine divisions of the country, and was conterminous, for a greater or less distance, with all of them, excepting Ching Chau, which lay off in the east by itself. It embraced most of the present Ho-nan, stretching also into the east and south, so as to comprehend parts of Shan-tung and Hu-pei.

proper limits. The waters of that of Ko were led to the marsh of Mang-chu.

The soil of this province was mellow; in the lower parts it was in some places rich, and in others dark and thin. Its fields were the highest of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the highest class, with a proportion of the very highest. Its articles of tribute were varnish, hemp, fine cloth of dolichos fiber, and the bæhmerea. The baskets were full of checkered silks, and of fine floss silk. Stones for polishing sounding-stones were rendered when required.

They floated along the Lo, and so reached the Ho.

9. The south of mount Hwa and the Black-water were the boundaries of Liang Chau.¹⁰

The hills Min and Po were made capable of cultivation. The Tho and Chien streams were conducted by their proper channels. Sacrifices were offered to the hills Tshai and Mang on the regulation of the country about them. The country of the wild tribes about the Ho was successfully operated on.

The soil of this province was greenish and light. Its fields were the highest of the lowest class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the lowest class, with proportions of the rates immediately above and below. Its articles of tribute were: the best gold, iron, silver, steel, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and sounding-stones; with the skins of bears, foxes, and jackals, and nets woven of their hair.

¹⁰ Liang Chau was an extensive province, and it is a remarkable fact that neither the dominions of the Shang nor the Chau Dynasty, which followed Hsia, included it. Portions of it were embraced in the Yu and Yung provinces of Chau, but the greater part was considered as wild, savage territory, beyond the limits of the Middle Kingdom. It is difficult to believe that the great Yu operated upon it, as this chapter would seem to indicate. The Hwa at its northeastern corner is the western mountain of Shun. The Black-water, or "the Chiang of the Golden Sands," is identified with the present Lu. The province extended over most of the present Sze-Chuan, with parts of Shen-hsi and Kan-su. I can hardly believe, as many do, that it extended far into Yun-nan and Kwei-chau.

From the hill of Hsi-ching they came by the course of the Hwan; floated along the Chien, and then crossed the country to the Mien; passed to the Wei, and finally ferried across the Ho.

10. The Black-water and western Ho were the boundaries of Yung Chau.¹¹

The Weak-water was conducted westward. The Ching was led to mingle its waters with those of the Wei. The Chi and the Chu were next led in a similar way to the Wei, and the waters of the Feng found the same receptacle.

The mountains Ching and Chi were sacrificed to. Those of Chung-nan and Chun-wu were also regulated, and all the way on to Niao-shu. Successful measures could now be taken with the plains and swamps, even to the marsh of Chu-yeh. The country of San-wei was made habitable, and the affairs of the people of San-miao were greatly arranged.

The soil of the province was yellow and mellow. Its fields were the highest of the highest class, and its contribution of revenue the lowest of the second. Its articles of tribute were the Chin jade and the lin, and the stones called lang-kan.

Past Chi-shih they floated on to Lung-man on the western Ho. They then met on the north of the Wei with the tribute-bearers from other quarters.

Hair-cloth and skins were brought from Khwan-lun, Hsi-chih, and Chu-sau, the wild tribes of the west all coming to submit to Yu's arrangements.

Section 2

1. Yu surveyed and described the hills, beginning with Chien and Chi and proceeding to mount Ching; then, crossing the Ho, Hu-khau, and Lei-shau, going on to Thai-yo. After these came Ti-chu and Hsi-chang, from which he went on to Wang-wu; then there were Thai-hang and mount Hang,

¹¹ The Black-water, which was the western boundary of Yung Chau, was a different river from that which, with the same name, ran along the south of Liang Chau. Yung Chau was probably the largest of Yu's provinces, embracing nearly all the present provinces of Shen-hsi and Kan-su, and extending indefinitely northward to the Desert.

from which he proceeded to the rocks of Chieh, where he reached the sea.

South of the Ho, he surveyed Hsi-ching, Chu-yu, and Niao-shu, going on to Thai-hwa; then Hsiung-r, Wai-fang, and Thung-pai, from which he proceeded to Pei-wei.

He surveyed and described Po-chung, going on to the other mount Ching; and Nei-fang, from which he went on to Ta-pieh.

He did the same with the south of mount Min, and went on to Mount Hang. Then crossing the nine Chiang, he proceeded to the plain of Fu-chien.

2. He traced the Weak-water as far as the Ho-li mountains, from which its superfluous waters went away among the moving sands.

He traced the Black-water as far as San-wei, from which it went away to enter the southern sea.

He traced the Ho from Chi-shih as far as Lung-man; and thence, southward, to the north of mount Hwa; eastward then to Ti-chu; eastward again to the ford of Mang; eastward still to the junction of the Lo; and then on to Ta-peï. From this the course was northward, past the Chiang-water, on to Ta-lu; north from which the river was divided, and became the nine Ho, which united again, and formed the Meeting Ho, when they entered the sea.

From Po-chung he traced the Yang, which, flowing eastward, became the Han. Farther east it became the water of Tshang-lang; and after passing the three Dykes, it went on to Ta-pieh, southward from which it entered the Chiang. Eastward still, and whirling on, it formed the marsh of Phang-li; and from that its eastern flow was the northern Chiang, as which it entered the sea.

From mount Min he traced the Chiang, which, branching off to the east, formed the Tho; eastward again, it reached the Li, passed the nine Chiang, and went on to Tung-ling; then flowing east, and winding to the north, it joined the Han with its eddying movements. From that its eastern flow was the middle Chiang, as which it entered the sea.

He traced the Yen water, which, flowing eastward, became

the Chi, and entered the Ho. Thereafter it flowed out, and became the Yung marsh. Eastward, it issued forth on the north of Thao-chiu, and flowed farther east to the marsh of Ko; then it went northeast, and united with the Wan; thence it went north, and finally entered the sea on the east.

He traced the Hwai from the hill of Thung-pai. Flowing east, it united with the Sze and the I, and still with an eastward course entered the sea.

He traced the Wei from the hill Niao-shu-thung-hsueh. Flowing eastward, it united with the Feng, and eastward again with the Ching. Farther east still, it passed the Chi and the Chu, and entered the Ho.

He traced the Lo from the hill Hsiung-r. Flowing to the northeast, it united with the Chien and the Chan, and eastward still with the I. Then on the northeast it entered the Ho.

3. Thus, throughout the nine provinces a similar order was effected: the grounds along the waters were everywhere made habitable; the hills were cleared of their superfluous wood and sacrificed to; the sources of the rivers were cleared; the marshes were well banked; and access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas.

The six magazines of material wealth were fully attended to; the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that contribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. The fields were all classified with reference to the three characters of the soil; and the revenues for the Middle Region were established.

4. He conferred lands and surnames. He said, "Let me set the example of a reverent attention to my virtue, and none will act contrary to my conduct."

Five hundred li formed the Domain of the Sovereign. From the first hundred they brought as revenue the whole plant of the grain; from the second, the ears, with a portion of the stalk; from the third, the straw, but the people had to perform various services; from the fourth, the grain in the husk; and from the fifth, the grain cleaned.

Five hundred li (beyond) constituted the Domain of the Nobles. The first hundred li was occupied by the cities and lands of the sovereign's high ministers and great officers; the second, by the principalities of the barons; and the other three hundred, by the various other princes.

Five hundred li (still beyond) formed the Peace-securing Domain. In the first three hundred, they cultivated the lessons of learning and moral duties; in the other two, they showed the energies of war and defense.

Five hundred li (remoter still) formed the Domain of Restraint. The first three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the I; the other two hundred, by criminals undergoing the lesser banishment.

Five hundred li (the most remote) constituted the Wild Domain. The first three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the Man; the other two hundred, by criminals undergoing the greater banishment.

5. On the east, reaching to the sea; on the west, extending to the moving sands; to the utmost limits of the north and south, his fame and influence filled up all within the four seas. Yu presented the dark-colored symbol of his rank, and announced the completion of his work.

BOOK II.—THE SPEECH AT KAN¹

There was a great battle at Kan. Previous to it, the king called together the six nobles (the leaders of his six hosts), and said, "Ah! all ye who are engaged in my six hosts, I have a solemn announcement to make to you.

"The lord of Hu wildly wastes and despises the five elements that regulate the seasons, and has idly abandoned the three acknowledged commencements of the year.² On

¹ The text does not say who the king at this battle of Kan was, but the prevalent tradition has always been that he was Chi, the son and successor of Yu. Kan is taken as the name of a place in the southern border of the principality of Hu, with the lord of which Chi fought. The name of Hu itself still remains in the district so called of the department Hsi-an, in Shen-hsi.

² The crimes of the lord of Hu are here very obscurely stated. With regard to the second of them, we know that Hsia commenced its year

this account Heaven is about to destroy him, and bring to an end his appointment to Hu; and I am now reverently executing the punishment appointed by Heaven.

“If you (the archers), on the left,³ do not do your work on the left, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you (the spearmen), on the right,³ do not do your work on the right, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, charioteers,³ do not observe the rules for the management of your horses, it will be a disregard of my orders. You who obey my orders shall be rewarded before the spirits of my ancestors; and you who disobey my orders shall be put to death before the altar of the spirits of the land, and I will also put to death your children.”

BOOK III.—THE SONGS OF THE FIVE SONS¹

1. Thai Khang² occupied the throne like a personator of the dead.^{3a} By idleness and dissipation he extinguished his

with the first month of spring, Shang a month earlier, and Chau about mid-winter. It was understood that every dynasty should fix a new month for the beginning of the year, and the dynasty of Chin actually carried its first month back into our November. If the lord of Hu claimed to begin the year with another month than that which Yu had fixed, he was refusing submission to the new dynasty. No doubt, the object of the expedition was to put down a dangerous rival.

³The chariots were the principal part of an ancient Chinese army; it is long before we read of cavalry. A war-chariot generally carried three. The driver was in the center; on his left was an archer, and a spearman occupied the place on his right. They all wore mail.

¹This Book ranks in that class of the documents of the Shu which goes by the name of “Instructions.” Though the form of it be poetical, the subject-matter is derived from the Lessons left by Yu for the guidance of his posterity.

²Thai Khang succeeded to his father in 2188 B.C., and his reign continues in chronology to 2160. His character is given here as evil. Chiung, the principality of I who took the field against him, is identified with the sub-department of Te-Chau, department Chi-nan, Shantung. There is a tradition that I, at an early period of his life, was lord of a State in the present Ho-nan. This would make his movement against Thai Khang, “south of the Ho,” more easy for him. The name of Thai Khang remains in the district so called of the department Chanchau, Ho-nan. There, it is said, he died, having never been able to recross the Ho.

^{3a}The character that here as a verb governs the character signifying

virtue, till the black-haired people all wavered in their allegiance. He, however, pursued his pleasure and wanderings without any self-restraint. He went out to hunt beyond the Lo, and a hundred days elapsed without his returning. On this I, the prince of Chiung, taking advantage of the discontent of the people, resisted his return on the south of the Ho.

The king's five brothers had attended their mother in following him, and were waiting for him on the north of the Lo; and when they heard of I's movements, all full of dissatisfaction, they related the Cautions of the great Yu in the form of songs.

2. The first said,

“It was the lesson of our great ancestor:
 The people should be cherished,
 And not looked down upon.
 The people are the root of a country;
 The root firm, the country is tranquil.
 When I look at all under heaven,
 Of the simple men and simple women,
 Any one may surpass me.
 If the One man err repeatedly,⁴
 Should dissatisfaction be waited for till it appears?
 Before it is seen, it should be guarded against.
 In my dealing with the millions of the people,
 I should feel as much anxiety as if I were driving six horses
 with rotten reins.
 The ruler of men —
 How should he be but reverent of his duties?”

The second said,

“It is in the Lessons:

“throne” means properly “a corpse,” and is often used for the personator of the dead, in the sacrificial services to the dead which formed a large part of the religious ceremonies of the ancient Chinese. A common definition of it is “the semblance of the spirit,” *i.e.*, the image into which the spirit entered. Thai Khang was but a personator on the throne; no better than a sham sovereign.

⁴ Any king, in the person of Yu, may be understood to be the speaker.

When the palace is a wild of lust,
 And the country is a wild for hunting;
 When spirits are liked, and music is the delight;
 When there are lofty roofs and carved walls —
 The existence of any one of these things
 Has never been but the prelude to ruin.”

The third said,

“ There was the lord of Thao and Thang,⁵
 Who possessed this region of Chi.
 Now we have fallen from his ways,
 And thrown into confusion his rules and laws;
 The consequence is extinction and ruin.”

The fourth said,

“ Brightly intelligent was our ancestor,
 Sovereign of the myriad regions.
 He had canons, he had patterns,
 Which he transmitted to his posterity.
 The standard stone and the equalizing quarter
 Were in the royal treasury.
 Wildly have we dropped the clue he gave us,
 Overturning our temple, and extinguishing our sacrifices.”

The fifth said,

“ Oh! whither shall we turn?
 The thoughts in my breast make me sad.
 All the people are hostile to us;
 On whom can we rely?
 Anxieties crowd together in our hearts;
 Thick as are our faces, they are covered with blushes.
 We have not been careful of our virtue;
 And though we repent, we can not overtake the past.”

⁵ The lord of Thao and Thang is Yao, who was lord of the principalities of Thao and Thang, but of which first and which last is uncertain, before his accession to the throne. Chi is the Chi Chau of the Tribute of Yu.

BOOK IV.—THE PUNITIVE EXPEDITION OF YIN.¹

1. When Chung Khang commenced his reign over all within the four seas, the marquis of Yin was commissioned to take charge of the king's six hosts. At this time the Hsi and Ho² had neglected the duties of their office, and were abandoned to drink in their private cities; and the marquis of Yin received the king's charge to go and punish them.

2. He made an announcement to his hosts, saying, "Ah! ye, all my men, there are the well-counseled instructions of the sage founder of our dynasty, clearly verified in their power to give stability and security: 'The former kings were carefully attentive to the warnings of Heaven,³ and their ministers observed the regular laws of their offices. All the officers, moreover, watchfully did their duty to assist the government, and their sovereign became entirely intelligent.' Every year, in the first month of spring, the herald, with his wooden-tongued bell, goes along the roads,⁴ proclaiming, 'Ye officers able to instruct, be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the subjects of your employments. If any of you do not attend with respect to this requirement, the country has regular punishments for you.'

"Now here are the Hsi and Ho. They have allowed their virtue to be subverted, and are besotted by drink. They have violated the duties of their office, and left their posts. They have been the first to let the regulating of the heavenly bodies get into disorder, putting far from them their proper busi-

¹ This Book is another of the "Speeches" of the Shu, belonging to the reign of Chung Khang, a brother of Thai Khang.

² Hsi and Ho, the principal ministers of the Board of Astronomy, descended from those of the same name in the time of Yao, had given themselves over to licentious indulgence in their private cities, and grossly neglected their duties. Especially had they been unobservant of an eclipse of the sun in autumn. The king considered them worthy of death, and commissioned the marquis of Yin to execute on them the sentence of his justice.

³ That is, here, such warnings as were supposed to be conveyed by eclipses and other unusual celestial phenomena.

⁴ A similar practise existed in the Chau Dynasty.

ness. On the first day of the last month of autumn, the sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang. The blind musicians beat their drums; the inferior officers galloped, and the common people employed about the public offices ran about.⁵ The Hsi and the Ho, however, as if they were mere personators of the dead in their offices, heard nothing and knew nothing — so stupidly went they astray from their duties in the matter of the heavenly appearances, and rendered themselves liable to the death appointed by the former kings. The statutes of government say, ‘When they anticipate the time, let them be put to death without mercy; when their reckoning is behind the time, let them be put to death without mercy.’

“Now I, with you all, am entrusted with the execution of the punishment appointed by Heaven. Unite your strength, all of you warriors, for the royal House. Give me your help, I pray you, reverently to carry out the dread charge of the Son of Heaven.

“When the fire blazes over the ridge of Khwan,⁶ gems and stones are burned together; but if a minister of Heaven exceed in doing his duty, the consequences will be fiercer than blazing fire. While I destroy, therefore, the chief criminals, I will not punish those who have been forced to follow them; and those who have long been stained by their filthy manners will be allowed to renovate themselves.

“Oh! when sternness overcomes compassion, things are surely conducted to a successful issue. When compassion overcomes sternness, no merit can be achieved. All ye, my warriors, exert yourselves, and take warning, and obey my orders!”

⁵ Similar observances are still practised on occasion of an eclipse of the sun.

⁶ Khwan is perhaps a part of the Khwan-lun mountain in the west of the Ko-ko-nor, where the Ho has its sources. The speaker evidently thought of it as volcanic.

THE SHU KING

PART IV.—THE BOOKS OF SHANG¹BOOK I.—THE SPEECH OF THANG²

The king said, "Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen all to my words. It is not I, the little child,³ who dare to undertake a rebellious enterprise; but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Hsia, Heaven has given the charge to destroy him.

"Now, ye multitudes, you are saying, 'Our prince does not compassionate us, but is calling us away from our husbandry to attack and punish Hsia.' I have indeed heard these words of you all; but the sovereign of Hsia is guilty, and, as I fear God, I dare not but punish him.

"Now you are saying, 'What are the crimes of Hsia to us?' The king of Hsia in every way exhausts the strength of his people, and exercises oppression in the cities of Hsia. His multitudes are becoming entirely indifferent to his service, and feel no bond of union to him. They are saying,

¹ Shang was the name of the dynasty that superseded Hsia (1766 B.C.). The House of Shang traced its origin into the remote times of antiquity, through Hsieh, whose appointment by Shun to be Minister of Instruction is related in the Canon of Shun. For his services Hsieh was invested with the principality of Shang, corresponding to the present small department of the same name in Shen-hsi. From Hsieh to Thang, the founder of the dynasty, there are reckoned fourteen generations, and we find Thang, when he first becomes prominent in history, a long way from the ancestral fief, in "the southern Po," corresponding to the present district of Shang-chiu, department Kwei-teh, Ho-nan. The title of the dynasty, however, was derived from the original Shang.

² Thang may be translated, "the Glorious One." His common style in history is as Chang Thang, "Thang the Completer," or "Thang the Successful." He had summoned his people to take the field with him against Chieh, the cruel and doomed sovereign of Hsia.

³ "The little child" is a designation used humbly of themselves by the kings of Shang and Chau. It is given also to them and others by such great ministers as I Yin and the Duke of Chau.

'When wilt thou, O sun, expire? We will all perish with thee.'⁴ Such is the course of the sovereign of Hsia, and now I must go and punish him.

"Assist, I pray you, me, the One man, to carry out the punishment appointed by Heaven. I will greatly reward you. On no account disbelieve me; I will not eat my words. If you do not obey the words which I have thus spoken to you, I will put your children to death with you; you shall find no forgiveness."

BOOK II.—THE ANNOUNCEMENT¹ OF CHUNG-HUI²

1. When Thang the Successful was keeping Chieh in banishment in Nan-chao, he had a feeling of shame on account of his conduct, and said, "I am afraid that in future ages men will fill their mouths with me, as an apology for their rebellious proceedings."

2. On this Chung-hui made the following announcement: "Oh! Heaven gives birth to the people with such desires, that without a ruler they must fall into all disorders; and Heaven again gives birth to the man of intelligence to regulate them. The sovereign of Hsia had his virtue all-obscurd, and the people were as if they had fallen amid mire and burning charcoal. Heaven hereupon gifted our king with valor and prudence, to serve as a sign and director to the myriad regions, and to continue the old ways of Yu. You are now only following the proper course, honoring and obeying the appointment of Heaven. The king of Hsia was an offender, falsely and calumniously alleging the sanction of supreme Heaven, to spread abroad his commands among the people.

⁴ Chieh, it is said, had on one occasion, when told of the danger he was incurring by his cruelties, pointed to the sun, and said that as surely as the sun was in the heavens, so firm was he on the throne.

¹ This Book is the first of the "Announcements," which form a large class of the documents in the Shu. They are distinguished from the Speeches, as being made in a general assembly, or published, for the information of all, whereas the Speeches were made to an army.

² Chung-hui, of an old family, whose surname was Tsan, with its seat in the territory of Hsieh, corresponding to the present district of Thang, department Yen-chau, Shan-tung, was a minister of Thang.

On this account God viewed him with disapprobation, caused our Shang to receive his appointment, and employed you to enlighten the multitudes of the people.

3. "Contemners of the worthy and parasites of the powerful — many such followers he had indeed; but from the first our country was to the sovereign of Hsia like weeds among the springing corn, and blasted grains among the good. Our people, great and small, were in constant apprehension, fearful though they were guilty of no crime. How much more was this the case, when our prince's virtues became a theme eagerly listened to! Our king did not approach to dissolute music and women; he did not seek to accumulate property and wealth. To great virtue he gave great offices, and to great merit great rewards. He employed others as if their excellences were his own; he was not slow to change his errors. Rightly indulgent and rightly benevolent, from the display of such virtue, confidence was reposed in him by the millions of the people.

"When the earl of Ko³ showed his enmity to the provision-carriers, the work of punishment began with Ko. When it went on in the east, the wild tribes of the west murmured; when it went on in the south, those of the north murmured: they said, 'Why does he make us alone the last?' To whatever people he went, they congratulated one another in their families, saying, 'We have waited for our prince; our prince is come, and we revive.' The people's honoring our Shang is a thing of long existence.

4. "Show favor to the able and right-principled among the princes, and aid the virtuous; distinguish the loyal, and let the good have free course. Absorb the weak, and punish the wilfully blind; take their States from the disorderly, and

³ Ko was a principality corresponding to the present district of Ningling, department of Kwei-teh, Ho-nan. It was thus near the southern Po, which belonged to Thang. Mencius tells us that Thang sent a multitude of his people to assist the farmers of Ko, about the poor produce of which their chief had lamented to him. That chief, however, instead of showing any gratitude, surprised and robbed those who were carrying provisions from Po to the laborers in the field, and committed various atrocities upon them. This aroused Thang's indignation, and he made him the first object of his punitive justice.

deal summarily with those going to ruin. When you thus accelerate the end of what is of itself ready to perish, and strengthen what is itself strong to live, how will the States all flourish! When a sovereign's virtue is daily being renewed, he is cherished throughout the myriad regions; when his mind is full only of himself, he is abandoned by the nine branches of his kindred. Exert yourself, O king, to make your virtue still more illustrious, and set up the standard of the Mean before the people. Order your affairs by righteousness; order your heart by propriety; so shall you transmit a grand example to posterity. I have heard the saying, 'He who finds instructors for himself comes to the supreme dominion; he who says that others are not equal to himself comes to ruin. He who likes to put questions becomes enlarged; he who uses only his own views becomes smaller than he was.' Oh! he who would take care for the end must be attentive to the beginning. There is establishment for the observers of propriety, and overthrow for the blinded and wantonly indifferent. To revere and honor the path prescribed by Heaven is the way ever to preserve the favoring appointment of Heaven."

BOOK III.—THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THANG

1. When the king returned from vanquishing Hsia and came to Po, he made a grand announcement to the myriad regions.

2. The king said, "Ah! ye multitudes of the myriad regions, listen clearly to the announcement of me, the One man.¹ The great God has conferred even on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right. To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate is the work of the sovereign.

"The king of Hsia extinguished his virtue, and played

¹ "The One man" has occurred before, in the Songs of the Five Sons, as a designation of the sovereign. It continues to be so to the present day.

the tyrant, extending his oppression over you, the people of the myriad regions. Suffering from his cruel injuries, and unable to endure the wormwood and poison, you protested with one accord your innocence to the spirits of heaven and earth. The way of Heaven is to bless the good, and make the bad miserable. It sent down calamities on the House of Hsia, to make manifest its guilt. Therefore I, the little child, charged with the decree of Heaven and its bright terrors, did not dare to forgive the criminal. I presumed to use a dark-colored victim-bull, and, making clear announcement to the Spiritual Sovereign in the high heavens, requested leave to deal with the ruler of Hsia as a criminal. Then I sought for the great Sage,² with whom I might unite my strength, to request the favor of Heaven for you, my multitudes. High Heaven truly showed its favor to the inferior people, and the criminal has been degraded and subjected. What Heaven appoints is without error — brilliantly now, like the blossoming of plants and trees, the millions of the people show a true reviving.

3. "It is given to me, the One man, to secure the harmony and tranquillity of your States and clans; and now I know not whether I may not offend against the Powers above and below. I am fearful and trembling, as if I were in danger of falling into a deep abyss. Throughout all the regions that enter on a new life under me, do not, ye princes, follow lawless ways; make no approach to insolence and dissoluteness; let every one be careful to keep his statutes, that so we may receive the favor of Heaven. The good in you I will not dare to keep concealed; and for the evil in me I will not dare to forgive myself. I will examine these things in harmony with the mind of God. When guilt is found anywhere in you who occupy the myriad regions, let it rest on me, the One man.³ When guilt is found in me, the One man, it shall not attach to you who occupy the myriad regions.

² "The great Sage" must be I Yin, Thang's chief adviser and minister, who appears prominently in the next Book.

³ There was a tradition in the Chau Dynasty, given with variations by Hsun-tze, Sze-ma Chien, and others, which may be quoted to illustrate these noble sentiments of Thang. For seven years after his accession to

“ Oh! let us attain to be sincere in these things, and so we shall likewise have a happy consummation.”

BOOK IV.—THE INSTRUCTIONS OF I¹

1. In the twelfth month of the first year, on the day Yi-chau, I Yin sacrificed to the former king, and presented the heir-king reverently before the shrine of his grandfather. All the princes from the domain of the nobles and the royal domain were present; all the officers also, each continuing to discharge his particular duties, were there to receive the orders of the chief minister. I Yin then clearly described the complete virtue of the Meritorious Ancestor for the instruction of the young king.

2. He said, “ Oh! of old the former kings of Hsia cultivated earnestly their virtue, and then there were no calamities from Heaven. The spirits of the hills and rivers likewise were all in tranquillity; and the birds and beasts, the fishes and tortoises — all enjoyed their existence according to their nature. But their descendant did not follow their example, and great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our ruler who was in possession of its favoring appointment. The attack on Hsia may be traced to the

the throne, 1766–1760 B.C., there was a great drought and famine. It was suggested at last that some human being should be offered in sacrifice to Heaven, and prayer made for rain. Thang said, “ If a man must be the victim, I will be he.” He fasted, cut off his hair and nails, and in a plain carriage, drawn by white horses, clad in rushes, in the guise of a sacrificial victim, he proceeded to a forest of mulberry-trees, and there prayed, asking to what error or crime of his the calamity was owing. He had not done speaking when a copious rain fell.

¹ Thang died in 1754 or 1753 B.C., and was succeeded, so far as the evidence of the Shu goes, by his grandson, known as Thai Chia. The chief minister of Thang had been I Yin, who delivers these Instructions to his young sovereign soon after his accession. I was a great and wise man, “ a great sage,” as Thang calls him in the last Book, and is classed by Mencius among other celebrated ministers as “ the one most inclined to take office.” He reasons thus: “ Heaven’s plan with mankind is that they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are later in doing so.” He thought he was one of the former class, and a fire burned within him, impelling him to seek for office with a view to benefit the ignorant and erring.

orgies in Ming-thiao,² but our rise began in Po. Our king of Shang brilliantly displayed his sagely prowess; for oppression he substituted his generous gentleness; and the millions of the people gave him their hearts. Now your Majesty is entering on the inheritance of his virtue; all depends on how you commence your reign. To set up love, it is for you to love your relations; to set up respect, it is for you to respect your elders. The commencement is in the family and the State; the consummation is in all within the four seas.

3. "Oh! the former king began with careful attention to the bonds that hold men together. He listened to expostulation, and did not seek to resist it; he conformed to the wisdom of the ancients; occupying the highest position, he displayed intelligence; occupying an inferior position, he displayed his loyalty; he allowed the good qualities of the men whom he employed, and did not seek that they should have every talent; in the government of himself, he seemed to think that he could never sufficiently attain. It was thus he arrived at the possession of the myriad regions. How painstaking was he in these things!

"He extensively sought out wise men, who should be helpful to you, his descendant and heir. He laid down the punishments for officers, and warned those who were in authority, saying, 'If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your chambers — that is called the fashion of sorcerers; if you dare to set your hearts on wealth and women, and abandon yourselves to wandering about or to the chase — that is called the fashion of extravagance; if you dare to despise sage words, to resist the loyal and upright, to put far from you the aged and virtuous, and to seek the company of procacious youths — that is called the fashion of disorder. Now if a high noble or officer be addicted to one of these three fashions with their

² Ming-thiao was a place not far from the capital of Chieh (in the present district of An-yi, Hai Chau, Shan-hsi). He had a palace there, where the vilest orgies were celebrated that alienated the minds of the people from him.

ten evil ways,³ his family will surely come to ruin; if the prince of a country be so addicted, his State will surely come to ruin. The minister who does not try to correct such vices in the sovereign shall be punished with branding.' These rules were minutely inculcated also on the sons of officers and nobles in their lessons.

4. "Oh! do you, who now succeed to the throne, revere these warnings in your person. Think of them!—sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly set forth! The ways of God are not invariable: on the good-doer he sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer he sends down all miseries. Do you but be virtuous, be it in small things or in large, and the myriad regions will have cause for rejoicing. If you be not virtuous, be it in large things or in small, it will bring the ruin of your ancestral temple."

BOOK V.—THE THAI CHIA ¹

Section 1

1. The king, on succeeding to the throne, did not follow the advice of A-hang.² A-hang or I Yin then made the following writing:^{3a} "The former king kept his eye continually on the bright requirements of Heaven, and so he maintained the worship of the spirits of heaven and earth, of those presiding over the land and the grain, and of those of the ancestral temple; all with a sincere reverence. Heaven took notice of his virtue, and caused its great appointment to light on him, that he should soothe and tranquillize the myriad regions. I, Yin, then gave my assistance to my

³ The "ten evil ways" are those mentioned in connection with the three evil fashions: two under the sorcerers' fashion, and four under each of the other two fashions.

¹ This Book also belongs to the class of "Lessons or Instructions," and is called the "Thai Chia," because the Instructions were addressed to the young monarch so named.

² A-hang, it is said by Sze-ma Chien, was the name of I. Others make it the title of the chief minister under the dynasty of Shang, *i.e.*, "the Support and Steelyard," "the Buttress and Director."

^{3a} This is the first *direct* statement in the Shu of a communication made in writing.

sovereign in the settlement of the people; and thus it is that you, O heir-king, have received the great inheritance. I have seen it myself in Hsia with its western capital, that when its rulers went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same, and afterward, when their successors could not attain to such a consummation, neither did their ministers. Take warning, O heir-king. Reverently use your sovereignty. If you do not play the sovereign, as the name requires, you will disgrace your grandfather."

2. The king would not think of these words, nor listen to them. On this I Yin said, "The former king, before it was light, sought to have large and clear views, and then sat waiting for the dawn to carry them into practise. He also sought on every side for men of ability and virtue, to instruct and guide his posterity. Do not frustrate his charge to me, and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be careful to strive after the virtue of self-restraint, and cherish far-reaching plans. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the spring, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets go; reverently determine your aim, and follow the ways of your grandfather. Thus I shall be delighted, and be able to show to all ages that I have discharged my trust."

3. The king was not yet able to change his course. I Yin said to himself, "This is real unrighteousness, and is becoming by practise a second nature. I can not bear to be near so disobedient a person. I will build a place in the palace at Thung,⁴ where he can be in silence near the grave of the former king. This will be a lesson which will keep him from going astray all his life." The king went accordingly to the palace at Thung, and dwelt during the period of mourning. In the end he became sincerely virtuous.

⁴ Thung was the place where Thang's tomb was; probably in the present district of Yung-ho, department of Phu-chau, Shan-hsi. The site or supposed site of the grave there was washed away in an overflow of the Fan river under the Yuan Dynasty, and a stone coffin was removed to another position, near which a royal tomb has been built.

Section 2

1. On the first day of the twelfth month of his third year, I Yin escorted the young king in the royal cap and robes back to Po. At the same time he made the following writing:

“Without the sovereign, the people can not have that guidance which is necessary to the comfort of their lives; without the people, the sovereign would have no sway over the four quarters of the kingdom. Great Heaven has graciously favored the House of Shang, and granted to you, O young king, at last to become virtuous. This is indeed a blessing that will extend without limit to ten thousand generations.”

2. The king did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head to the ground, saying, “I, the little child, was without understanding of what was virtuous, and was making myself one of the unworthy. By my desires I was setting at naught all rules of conduct, and violating by my self-indulgence all rules of propriety, and the result must have been speedy ruin to my person. Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by one's self there is no escape. Heretofore I turned my back on the instructions of you, my tutor and guardian; my beginning has been marked by incompetency. Let me still rely on your correcting and preserving virtue, keeping this in view that my end may be good!”

3. I Yin did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head on the ground, and said, “To cultivate his person, and by being sincerely virtuous, bring all below to harmonious concord with him; this is the work of the intelligent sovereign. The former king was kind to the distressed and suffering, as if they were his children, and the people submitted to his commands — all with sincere delight. Even in the States of the neighboring princes, the people said, ‘We are waiting for our sovereign; when our sovereign comes, we shall not suffer the punishments that we now do.’

“O king, zealously cultivate your virtue. Regard the example of your meritorious grandfather. At no time allow

yourself in pleasure and idleness. In worshiping your ancestors, think how you can prove your filial piety; in receiving your ministers, think how you can show yourself respectful; in looking to what is distant, try to get clear views; have your ears ever open to lessons of virtue; then shall I acknowledge and respond to the excellence of your majesty with an untiring devotion to your service."

Section 3

1. I Yin again made an announcement to the king, saying, "Oh! Heaven has no partial affection; only to those who are reverent does it show affection. The people are not constant to those whom they cherish; they cherish only him who is benevolent. The spirits do not always accept the sacrifices that are offered to them; they accept only the sacrifices of the sincere. A place of difficulty is the Heaven-conferred seat. When there are those virtues, good government is realized; when they are not, disorder comes. To maintain the same principles as those who secured good government will surely lead to prosperity; to pursue the courses of disorder will surely lead to ruin. He who at last, as at first, is careful as to whom and what he follows is a truly intelligent sovereign. The former king was always zealous in the reverent cultivation of his virtue, so that he was the fellow of God.⁵ Now, O king, you have entered on the inheritance of his excellent line; fix your inspection on him.

2. "Your course must be as when in ascending high you begin from where it is low, and when in traveling far you begin from where it is near. Do not slight the occupations of the people; think of their difficulties. Do not yield to a feeling of repose on your throne; think of its perils. Be careful for the end at the beginning. When you hear words that are distasteful to your mind, you must inquire whether they be not right; when you hear words that accord with your

⁵ This phrase is used, as here, with reference to the "virtue" of a sovereign, making him as it were the mate of God, ruling on earth as he rules above; and with reference to the "honors" paid to a departed sovereign, when he is associated with God in the great sacrificial services.

own views, you must inquire whether they be not contrary to what is right. Oh! what attainment can be made without anxious thought? what achievement can be made without earnest effort? Let the One man be greatly good, and the myriad regions will be rectified by him.

3. "When the sovereign does not with disputations words throw the old rules of government into confusion, and the minister does not, for favor and gain, continue in an office whose work is done, then the country will lastingly and surely enjoy happiness."

BOOK VI.—THE COMMON POSSESSION OF PURE VIRTUE ¹

1. I Yin, having returned the government into the hands of his sovereign, and being about to announce his retirement, set forth admonitions on the subject of virtue.

2. He said, "Oh! it is difficult to rely on Heaven; its appointments are not constant. But if the sovereign see to it that his virtue be constant, he will preserve his throne; if his virtue be not constant, the nine provinces will be lost by him. The king of Hsia could not maintain the virtue of his ancestors unchanged, but contemned the spirits and oppressed the people. Great Heaven no longer extended its protection to him. It looked out among the myriad regions to give its guidance to one who should receive its favoring appointment, fondly seeking a possessor of pure virtue, whom it might make lord of all the spirits. Then there were I Yin, and Thang, both possessed of pure virtue, and able to satisfy the mind of Heaven. He received in consequence the bright favor of Heaven, so as to become possessor of the multitudes of the nine provinces, and proceeded to change Hsia's commencement of the year. It was not that Heaven had any private partiality for the lord of Shang; it simply

¹ This is the last of the "Instructions" of I Yin; addressed, like those of the last two Books, to Thai Chia, but at a later period when the great minister wished to retire from the toils of administration. He now disappears from the stage of history, though according to Sze-ma Chien, and a notice in the Preface to the Shu, he lived on to 1713 B.C., the eighth year of Thai Chia's son and successor.

gave its favor to pure virtue. It was not that Shang sought the allegiance of the lower people; the people simply turned to pure virtue. Where the sovereign's virtue is pure, his enterprises are all fortunate; where his virtue is wavering and uncertain, his enterprises are all unfortunate. Good and evil do not wrongly befall men, but Heaven sends down misery or happiness according to their conduct.

3. "Now, O young king, you are newly entering on your great appointment; you should be seeking to make new your virtue. At last, as at first, have this as your one object, so shall you make a daily renovation. Let the officers whom you employ be men of virtue and ability, and let the ministers about you be the right men. The minister, in relation to his sovereign above him, has to promote his virtue, and, in relation to the people beneath him, has to seek their good. How hard must it be to find the proper man! what careful attention must be required! Thereafter there must be harmony cultivated with him, and a oneness of confidence placed in him.

"There is no invariable model of virtue; a supreme regard to what is good gives the model of it. There is no invariable characteristic of what is good that is to be supremely regarded; it is found where there is a conformity to the uniform consciousness in regard to what is good. Such virtue will make the people with their myriad surnames all say, 'How great are the words of the king!' and also, 'How single and pure is the king's heart!' It will avail to maintain in tranquillity the rich possession of the former king, and to secure forever the happy life of the multitudes of the people.

4. "Oh! to retain a place in the seven-shrined temple² of ancestors is a sufficient witness of virtue. To be acknowledged as chief by the myriad heads of families is a

² It is beyond a doubt that the ancestral temple of the kings of Chau contained seven shrines or seven small temples, for the occupancy of which, by the spirit-tablets of such and such kings, there were definite rules, as the line of sovereigns increased. It would appear from the text that a similar practise prevailed in the time of the Shang Dynasty.

sufficient evidence of one's government. The sovereign without the people has none whom he can employ; and the people without the sovereign have none whom they can serve. Do not think yourself so large as to deem others small. If ordinary men and women do not find the opportunity to give full development to their ability, the people's lord will be without the proper aids to complete his merit."

BOOK VII.—THE PAN-KANG ¹

Section 1

1. Pan-kang wished to remove the capital to Yin,² but the people would not go to dwell there. He therefore appealed to all the discontented, and made the following protestations: "Our king, Tsu-yi, came, and fixed on this Kang for his capital. He did so from a deep concern for our people, and not because he would have them all die, where they can not now help one another to preserve their lives. I have consulted the tortoise-shell, and obtained the reply—'This is no place for us.' When the former kings had any important business, they gave reverent heed to the commands of Heaven. In a case like this especially they did not indulge the wish for constant repose—they did not abide ever in the same city. Up to this time the capital has been in five regions.³ If we do not follow the example of these old times, we shall be refusing to acknowledge that Heaven is making an end of

¹ Pan-kang was the seventeenth sovereign in the line of Thang. From Thai Chia to him, therefore, there was a space of 321 years, which are a gap in the history of the Shang Dynasty, so far as the existing documents of the Shu are concerned. When the collection was complete, there were seven other documents between "the Common Possession of Pure Virtue" and "the Pan-kang." The reign of Pan-kang extended from 1401 to 1374 B.C., and is remarkable as that in which the dynasty began to be called Yin, instead of Shang. The Book belongs to the class of "Announcements," and is divided into three sections.

² The removal was probably necessitated by an inundation of the Ho. Kang had been fixed on by Tsu-yi for his capital. The Yin to which Pan-kang removed was in the present district of Yen-sze, department Ho-nan, Ho-nan.

³ This fact—the frequent changes of capital—does not give us a great idea of the stability and resources of the Shang Dynasty.

our dynasty here; how little can it be said of us that we are following the meritorious course of the former kings! As from the stump of a felled tree there are sprouts and shoots, Heaven will perpetuate its decree in our favor in this new city; the great inheritance of the former kings will be continued and renewed, and tranquillity will be secured to the four quarters of the kingdom."

2. Pan-kang, in making the people aware of his views, began with those who were in high places, and took the constantly recurring circumstances of former times to lay down the right law and measure for the present emergency, saying, "Let none of you dare to suppress the remonstrances of the poor people." The king commanded all to come to him in the courtyard of his palace.

The king spoke to this effect: "Come, all of you; I will announce to you my instructions. Take counsel how to put away your selfish thoughts. Do not with haughty disregard of me follow after your own ease. Of old, our former kings planned like me how to employ the men of old families to share in the labors of government. When they wished to proclaim and announce what was to be attended to, these did not conceal the royal views; and on this account the kings greatly respected them. They did not exceed the truth in their communications with the people, and on this account the people became greatly changed in their views. Now, however, you keep clamoring, and get the confidence of the people by alarming and shallow speeches; I do not know what you are wrangling about. In this movement I am not myself abandoning my proper virtue, but you conceal the goodness of my intentions, and do not stand in awe of me, the One man. I see you as clearly as one sees a fire; but I, likewise, by my undecided plans, have produced your error.

"When the net has its line, there is order and not confusion; and when the husbandman labors upon his fields, and reaps with all his might, there is the abundant harvest. If you can put away your selfish thoughts, and bestow real good upon the people, reaching also to your own relatives and

friends, you may boldly venture to make your words great, and say that you have accumulated merit. But you do not fear the great evils which through our not removing are extending far and near; you are like idle husbandmen, who yield themselves to ease, and are not strong to toil and labor on their acres, so that they can not get their crop of millets. You do not speak in a spirit of harmony and goodness to the people, and are only giving birth to bitter evils for yourselves. You play the part of destroyers and authors of calamity, of villains and traitors, to bring down misery on your own persons. You set the example of evil, and must feel its smart; what will it avail you then to repent? Look at the poor people; they are still able to look to one another and give expression to their remonstrances, but when they begin to speak, you are ready with your extravagant talk; how much more ought you to have me before your eyes, with whom it is to make your lives long or short! Why do you not report their words to me, but go about to excite one another by empty speeches, frightening and involving the multitudes in misery? When a fire is blazing in the flames so that it can not be approached, can it still be beaten out? So, it will not be I who will be to blame, that you all cause dispeace in this way, and must suffer the consequences.

“Chih Tsan ⁴ has said, ‘In men we seek those of old families; in vessels, we do not seek old ones, but new.’ Of old, the kings, my predecessors, and your forefathers and fathers shared together the ease and labors of the government; how should I dare to lay undeserved afflictions on you? For generations the toils of your fathers have been approved, and I will not conceal your goodness. Now when I offer the great sacrifices to my predecessors, your forefathers are present to share in them. They all observe the happiness I confer and the sufferings I inflict, and I can not dare to reward virtue that does not exist.

“I have announced to you the difficulties of the intended

⁴ Who Chih Tsan was is not known. The general opinion is that he was an ancient historiographer. A Chau Tsan is introduced in a similar way in the Confucian “Analects.”

movement, being bent on it, like an archer whose only thought is to hit. Do not you despise the old and experienced, and do not make little of the helpless and young. Seek every one long continuance in this new city, which is to be your abode; exert yourselves and put out your strength in furthering the removal, and listen to the plans of me, the One man. I will make no distinction between men as being more distantly or more nearly related to me; the criminal in this matter shall die the death, and the good-doer shall have his virtue distinguished. The prosperity of the country ought to come from you all. If it fail of prosperity, that must arise from me, the One man, erring in the application of punishment. Be sure, all of you, to make known this announcement. From this time forward, attend respectfully to your business; have the duties of your offices regularly adjusted; bring your tongues under the rule of law — lest punishment come upon you, when repentance will be of no avail."

Section 2

1. Pan-kang arose, and was about to cross the Ho with the people, moving to the new capital. Accordingly, he addressed himself to those of them who were still dissatisfied, and made a full announcement to their multitudes, to induce a sincere acquiescence in the measure. They all attended, and being charged to take no liberties in the royal courtyard, he called them near, and said, "Listen clearly to my words, and do not disregard my commands.

"Oh! of old time my royal predecessors cherished, every one and above every other thing, a respectful care of the people, who again upheld their sovereign with a mutual sympathy. Seldom was it that they were not superior to any calamitous time sent by Heaven. When great calamities came down on Yin, the former kings did not fondly remain in their place. What they did was with a view to the people's advantage, and therefore they moved their capitals. Why do you not reflect that I, according to what I have heard of the ancient sovereigns, in my care of you and actings toward you, am only wishing to rejoice with you in a com-

mon repose? It is not that any guilt attaches to you, so that this movement should be like a punishment. If I call upon you to cherish this new city, it is simply on your account, and as an act of great accordance with your wishes. My present undertaking to remove with you is to give repose and stability to the country. You, however, have no sympathy with the anxieties of my mind; but you all keep a great reserve in declaring your minds, when you might respectfully think by your sincerity to move me, the One man. You only exhaust and distress yourselves. The case is like that of sailing in a boat: if you do not cross the stream at the proper time, you will destroy all the cargo. Your sincerity does not respond to mine, and we are in danger of going together to destruction. You, notwithstanding, will not examine the matter; though you anger yourselves, what cure will that bring?

“You do not consult for a distant day, nor think of the calamity that must befall you from not removing. You greatly encourage one another in what must prove to your sorrow. Now you have the present, but you will not have the future; what prolongation of life can you look for from above? My measures are forecast to prolong your lease of life from Heaven; do I force you by the terrors of my power? My object is to support and nourish you all. I think of my ancestors, who are now the spiritual sovereigns; when they made your forefathers toil on similar occasions it was only for their good, and I would be enabled in the same way greatly to nourish you and cherish you.

2. “Were I to err in my government, and remain long here, my high sovereign, the founder of our dynasty, would send down on me great punishment for my crime, and say, ‘Why do you oppress my people?’ If you, the myriads of the people, do not attend to the perpetuation of your lives, and cherish one mind with me, the One man, in my plans, the former kings will send down on you great punishment for your crime, and say, ‘Why do you not agree with our young grandson, but go on to forfeit your virtue?’ When they punish you from above, you will have no way of escape. Of old,

my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers toil only for their good. You are equally the people whom I wish to cherish. But your conduct is injurious; it is cherished in your hearts. Whereas my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers happy, they, your ancestors and fathers, will now cut you off and abandon you, and not save you from death. Here are those ministers of my government, who share with me in the offices of the kingdom; and yet they only think of hoarding up cowries and gems. Their ancestors and fathers earnestly represent their course to my high sovereign, saying: 'Execute great punishments on our descendants.' So do they advise my high sovereign to send down great calamities on those men.

3. "Oh! I have now told you my unchangeable purpose; do you perpetually respect my great anxiety; let us not get alienated and removed from one another; share in my plans and thoughts, and think only of following me; let every one of you set up the true rule of conduct in his heart. If there be bad and unprincipled men, precipitously or carelessly disrespectful to my orders, and taking advantage of this brief season to play the part of villains or traitors, I will cut off their noses, or utterly exterminate them. I will leave none of their children. I will not let them perpetuate their seed in this new city.

"Go! preserve and continue your lives. I will now transfer you to the new capital, and there establish your families forever."

Section 3

1. Pan-kang having completed the removal, and settled the places of residence, proceeded to adjust the several positions of all classes at an assembly; and then he soothed and comforted the multitudes, saying to them, "Do not play nor be idle, but exert yourselves to build here a great destiny for us.

"Now I have disclosed my heart and belly, my reins and bowels, and fully declared to you, my people, all my mind.

I will not treat any of you as offenders; and do not you any more help one another to be angry, and form parties to defame me, the One man.

“Of old, my royal predecessor, Thang, that his merit might exceed that of those who were before him, proceeded to the hill-site.⁵ Thereby he removed our evils, and accomplished admirable good for our country. Now you, my people, were by your position dissipated and separated, so that you had no abiding-place. And yet you asked why I was troubling your myriads and requiring you to remove. But God, being about to renew the virtuous service of my high ancestor, and secure the good order of our kingdom, I, with the sincere and respectful of my ministers, felt a reverent care for the lives of the people, and have made a lasting settlement in this new city.

“I, a youth, did not neglect your counsels; I only used the best of them. Nor did any of you presumptuously oppose the decision of the tortoise-shell; so we are here to enlarge our great inheritance.

2. “Oh! ye chiefs of regions, ye heads of departments, all ye, the hundreds of officers, would that ye had a sympathy with my people! I will exert myself in the choice and guiding of you; do ye think reverently of my multitudes. I will not employ those who are fond of enriching themselves; but will use and revere those who are vigorously, yet reverently, laboring for the lives and increase of the people, nourishing them and planning for their enduring settlement.

“I have now brought forward and announced to you my mind, whom I approve and whom I disallow; let none of you but reverence my will. Do not seek to accumulate wealth and precious things, but in fostering the life of the people, seek to find your merit. Reverently display your virtue in behalf of the people. Forever maintain this one purpose in your hearts.”

⁵ It is supposed that this “hill-site” of Thang was the same as that which Pan-kang had fixed on, but this does not clearly appear in the text.

BOOK VIII.—THE CHARGE TO YUEH¹

Section 1

1. The king passed the season of sorrow in the mourning-shed for three years,² and when the period of mourning was over, he still did not speak to give any commands. All the ministers remonstrated with him, saying, "Oh! him who is the first to apprehend we pronounce intelligent, and the intelligent man is the model for others. The Son of Heaven rules over the myriad regions, and all the officers look up to and reverence him. They are the king's words which form the commands for them. If he do not speak, the ministers have no way to receive their orders." On this the king made a writing, for their information, to the following effect: "As it is mine to serve as the director for the four quarters of the kingdom, I have been afraid that my virtue is not equal to that of my predecessors, and therefore have not spoken. But while I was reverently and silently thinking of the right way, I dreamt that God gave me a good assistant who should speak for me." He then minutely recalled the appearance of the person whom he had seen, and caused search to be made for him everywhere by means of a picture. Yueh, a

¹ After Pan-kang came the reigns of Hsiao-hsin and Hsiao-yi, of which we have no accounts in the Shu. Hsiao-yi was followed by Wu-ting (1324-1264 B.C.), to the commencement of whose reign this Book, in three sections, belongs. His name is not in it, but that he is the king intended appears from the Confucian "Analects." The Book is the first of the "Charges" of the Shu. They relate the designation by the king of some officer to a particular charge or to some fief, with the address delivered by him on the occasion. Here the charge is to Yueh, in the first section, on his appointment to be chief minister. In the other two sections Yueh is the principal speaker, and not the king. They partake more of the nature of the "Counsels." Yueh had been a recluse, living in obscurity. The king's attention was drawn to him in the manner related in the Book, and he was discovered in Fu-yen, or amidst "the Crag of Fu," from which he was afterward called Fu Yueh, as if Fu had been his surname.

² A young king, mourning for his father, had to "afflict" himself in various ways for twenty-five months, nominally for three years. Among other privations, he had to exchange the comforts of a palace for a rough shed in one of the courtyards. During the time of mourning the direction of affairs was left to the chief minister.

builder in the wild country of Fu-yen, was found like to it.

2. On this the king raised and made Yueh his prime minister, keeping him also at his side.

He charged him, saying, "Morning and evening present your instructions to aid my virtue. Suppose me a weapon of steel — I will use you for a whetstone. Suppose me crossing a great stream — I will use you for a boat with its oars. Suppose me in a year of great drought — I will use you as a copious rain. Open your mind, and enrich my mind. Be you like medicine, which must distress the patient, in order to cure his sickness. Think of me as one walking barefoot, whose feet are sure to be wounded, if he do not see the ground.

"Do you and your companions all cherish the same mind to assist your sovereign, that I may follow my royal predecessors, and tread in the steps of my high ancestor, to give repose to the millions of the people. Oh! respect this charge of mine; so shall you bring your work to a good end."

3. Yueh replied to the king, saying, "Wood by the use of the line is made straight, and the sovereign who follows reproof is made sage. When the sovereign can thus make himself sage, his ministers, without being specially commanded, anticipate his orders; who would dare not to act in respectful compliance with this excellent charge of your Majesty?"

Section 2

1. Yueh having received his charge, and taken the presidency of all the officers, he presented himself before the king, and said, "Oh! intelligent kings act in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven. The founding of States and the setting up of capitals, the appointing of sovereign kings, of dukes and other nobles, with their great officers and heads of departments, were not designed to minister to the idleness and pleasures of one, but for the good government of the people. It is Heaven which is all-intelligent and observing; let the sage king take it as his pattern. Then his ministers

will reverently accord with him, and the people consequently will be well governed.

“It is the mouth that gives occasion for shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet that give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments for reward should not be lightly taken from their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself. If your Majesty will be cautious in regard to these things, and, believing this about them, attain to the intelligent use of them, your government will in everything be excellent. Good government and bad depend on the various officers. Offices should not be given to men because they are favorites, but only to men of ability. Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practises, but only on men of worth.

“Anxious thought about what will be best should precede your movements, which also should be taken at the time proper for them. Indulging the consciousness of being good is the way to lose that goodness; being vain of one’s ability is the way to lose the merit it might produce.

“For all affairs let there be adequate preparation; with preparation there will be no calamitous issue. Do not open the door for favorites, from whom you will receive contempt. Do not be ashamed of mistakes, and go on to make them crimes. Let your mind rest in its proper objects, and the affairs of your government will be pure. Officiousness in sacrificing is called irreverence; and multiplying ceremonies leads to disorder. To serve the spirits acceptably in this way is difficult.”

2. The king said, “Excellent! Your words, O Yueh, should indeed be put in practise by me. If you were not so good in counsel, I should not have heard these rules for my conduct.” Yueh did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, “It is not the knowing that is difficult, but the doing. But since your Majesty truly knows this, there will not be the difficulty, and you will become really equal in complete virtue to our first king. Wherein I, Yueh, refrain from speaking what I ought to speak, the blame will rest with me.”

Section 3

1. The king said, "Come, O Yueh. I, the little one, first learned with Kan Pan.² Afterward I lived concealed among the rude countrymen, and then I went to the country inside the Ho, and lived there.³ From the Ho I went to Po; and the result has been that I am unenlightened. Do you teach me what should be my aims. Be to me as the yeast and the malt in making sweet spirits, as the salt and the prunes in making agreeable soup. Use various methods to cultivate me; do not cast me away; so shall I attain to practise your instructions."

Yueh said, "O king, a ruler should seek to learn much from his ministers, with a view to establish his affairs; but to learn the lessons of the ancients is the way to attain this. That the affairs of one, not making the ancients his masters, can be perpetuated for generations, is what I have not heard.

"In learning there should be a humble mind and the maintenance of a constant earnestness; in such a case the learner's improvement will surely come. He who sincerely cherishes these things will find all truth accumulating in his person. Teaching is the half of learning; when a man's thoughts from first to last are constantly fixed on learning, his virtuous cultivation comes unperceived.

"Survey the perfect pattern of our first king; so shall you forever be preserved from error. Then shall I be able reverently to meet your views, and on every side to look out for men of eminence to place in the various offices."

2. The king said, "Oh! Yueh, that all within the four seas look up to my virtue is owing to you. As his legs and arms form the man, so does a good minister form the sage

² From Part V, we learn that Kan Pan was a great minister of Wu-ting. It is supposed that he had been minister to Wu-ting's father, and died during the king's period of mourning.

³ We do not know the events of Wu-ting's early life sufficiently to explain his language here. His living concealed among the rude people of the country, and then crossing to the north of the Ho, was owing probably to troubles in the kingdom.

king. Formerly, there was the first premier of our dynasty, Pao-hang, who raised up and formed its royal founder. He said, 'If I can not make my sovereign like Yao or Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart, as if I were beaten in the market-place.' If any common man did not get all he should desire, he said, 'It is my fault.' Thus he assisted my meritorious ancestor, so that he became equal to great Heaven. Do you give your intelligent and preserving aid to me, and let not A-hang engross all the good service to the House of Shang.

"The sovereign should share his government with none but worthy officers. The worthy officer should accept his support from none but the proper sovereign. May you now succeed in making your sovereign a true successor of the founder of his line, and in securing the lasting happiness of the people!"

Yuch did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, "I will venture to respond to, and display abroad, your Majesty's excellent charge."

BOOK IX.—THE DAY OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY

SACRIFICE TO KAO TSUNG

On the day of the supplementary sacrifice of Kao Tsung, there appeared a crowing pheasant.² Tsu Chi said, "To rectify this affair, the king must first be corrected." He delivered accordingly a lesson to the king, saying, "In its inspection of men below, Heaven's first consideration is of their righteousness, and it bestows on them accordingly length of years or the contrary. It is not Heaven that cuts short men's

¹ Kao Tsung was the title given to Wu-ting, after his death, in the ancestral temple. A supplementary sacrifice was offered on the day following the regular and more solemn service. The king is Tsu-kang, Wu-ting's son. Something irregular or excessive in his sacrificing to his father was the thing which his monitor Tsu Chi wished to censure, taking occasion to do so from the incident mentioned in the first sentence.

² Sze-ma Chien says that the pheasant sat on the ear — one of the handles — of a tripod.

lives; they bring them to an end themselves. Some men who have not complied with virtue will yet not acknowledge their offenses, and when Heaven has by evident tokens charged them to correct their conduct, they still say, 'What are these things to us?'

"Oh! your Majesty's business is to care reverently for the people. And all your ancestors were the heirs of the kingdom by the gift of Heaven; in attending to the sacrifices to them, be not so excessive in those to your father."

BOOK X.—THE CHIEF OF THE WEST'S CONQUEST OF LI ¹

The Chief of the West having subdued Li, Tsu I was afraid, and hastened to report it to the king.

He said, "Son of Heaven, Heaven is bringing to an end the dynasty of Yin; the wisest men and the shell of the great tortoise do not presume to know anything fortunate for it. It is not that the former kings do not aid us, the men of this later time; but by your dissoluteness and sport you are bringing on the end yourself. On this account Heaven has cast us off, and there are no good harvests to supply us with food. Men have no regard to their heavenly nature, and pay no obedience to the statutes of the kingdom. Yea, our people now all wish the dynasty to perish, saying, 'Why does not Heaven send down its indignation? Why does not some one with its great appointment make his appearance? What has the present king to do with us?'"

The king said, "Oh! was not my birth in accordance with the appointment of Heaven in favor of my House?" On

¹The reigns of seven more kings of Yin or Shang have passed, and this Book brings us to the time of Chau-hsin or Shau, its last sovereign, 1154-1123 B.C. The House of Chau begins to come to the front, for "the Chief of the West" was one of the acknowledged founders of the Chau Dynasty—whether Chang, known as King Wan, or his son Fa, known as King Wu, is uncertain. Tsu I, a loyal officer, hears of the conquest of Li, and hurries away to inform the king and warn him of the danger threatening the dynasty through his evil conduct. The king gives no heed to his remonstrances, and Tsu I retires, sighing over the ruin, which he sees is not to be averted. The Book is classed, it would be hard to tell why, among the "Announcements."

this Tsu I returned to his own city, and said, "Your crimes, which are many, are registered above, and can you still appeal to the appointment of Heaven in your favor? Yin will perish very shortly. As to all your deeds, can they but bring ruin on your country?"

BOOK XI.—THE COUNT OF WEI¹

1. The Count of Wei spoke to the following effect: "Grand-Master and Junior-Master, the House of Yin, we may conclude, can no longer exercise rule over the four quarters of the kingdom. The great deeds of our founder were displayed in former ages, but by our maddened indulgence in spirits we have destroyed the effects of his virtue in these after-times. The people of Yin, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies, and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws, and there is no certainty that criminals will be apprehended. The smaller people consequently rise up, and commit violent outrages on one another. Yin is now sinking in ruin; its condition is like that of one crossing a stream, who can find neither ford nor bank. That Yin should be hurrying to ruin at the present pace!"

He added, "Grand-Master and Junior-Master, we are manifesting insanity. The most venerable members of our families are withdrawn to the wilds; and you indicate no course to be taken, but only tell me of the impending ruin; what is to be done?"

2. The Grand-Master made about the following reply:

¹ The conversation recorded here — called, like the last Book, and with as little reason, an "Announcement" — is referred to 1123 B.C., the year in which the dynasty of Shang perished. Wei was a principality in the royal domain, corresponding to the present district of Lu-Chang, department of Lu-an, Shan-hsi, the lords of which were counts. The count who appears here was, most probably, an elder brother of the king, and by the same mother, who was, however, only a concubine when the count was born, but raised to be queen before the birth of Chau-hsin. Sadened with the thought of the impending ruin of the dynasty, the count seeks the counsel of two other high nobles, and asks them to tell him what was to be done.

“O son of our former king, Heaven in anger is sending down calamities, and wasting the country of Yin. Hence has arisen that mad indulgence in spirits. The king has no reverence for things which he ought to reverence, but does despite to the venerable aged, the men who have long been in office. The people of Yin will now steal even the pure and perfect victims devoted to the spirits of heaven and earth; and their conduct is connived at, and though they proceed to eat the victims they suffer no punishment. On the other hand, when I look down and survey the people of Yin, the methods by which they are governed are hateful exactions, which call forth outrages and hatred; and this without ceasing. Such crimes equally belong to all in authority, and multitudes are starving with none to whom to appeal. Now is the time of Shang's calamity; I will arise and share in its ruin. When ruin overtakes Shang, I will not be the servant of another House. But I tell you, O king's son, to go away, as being the course for you. Formerly I injured you by what I said; if you do not now go away, our sacrifices will entirely perish. Let us rest quietly in our several parts, and each present himself to the former kings² as having done so. I do not think of making my escape.”

² It is understood that the former king, the father of both Chi and Chau-hsin, had wished to leave the throne to Chi, and that the Grand-Master had advocated such a measure; thereby injuring Chi when it did not take effect, through making Chau-hsin jealous of him.

THE SHU KING

PART V.—THE BOOKS OF CHAU¹BOOK I.—THE GREAT DECLARATION²

Section 1

In the spring of the thirteenth year³ there was a great assembly at Mang-Ching.⁴ The king said, "Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly States, and all ye my officers, managers of my affairs, harken clearly to my declaration.

"Heaven and earth is the parent of all creatures; and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed. The sincerely intelligent among men becomes the great sovereign; and the great sovereign is the parent of the people. But now, Shau, the king of Shang, does not reverence Heaven above, and inflicts calamities on the people below. Abandoned to drunkenness, and reckless in lust, he has dared to exercise cruel oppression. He has extended the punishment of offenders

¹Chau is the dynastic designation under which King Wu and his descendants possessed the throne from 1122 to 256 B.C., a period of 867 years. They traced their lineage up to Chi, who was Minister of Agriculture under Shun. He was invested with the principality of Thai, the present district of Fu-fang, department of Fang-hsiang, Shen-hsi. Long afterward Than-fu, claiming to be one of his descendants, appears in 1326 B.C., founding the State of Chau, near mount Chi, in the same department of Fang-hsiang. This Than-fu was the great-grandfather of King Wu.

²King Wu, having at last taken the field against Chau-hsin, the tyrant of Shang, made three speeches to his officers and men, setting forth the reasons for his enterprise, and urging them to exert themselves with him in the cause of humanity and Heaven. They are brought together, and constitute "the Great Declaration." "In the first Part," says a Chinese critic, "King Wu addresses himself to the princes and nobles of inferior rank; in the second, to their hosts; and in the third, to his officers."

³The thirteenth year is reckoned from King Wu's succeeding to his father as "the Chief of the West."

⁴Mang-Ching, or "the Ford of Mang," is still the name of a district in the department of Ho-nan, Ho-nan.

to all their relatives. He has put men into offices on the hereditary principle. He has made it his pursuit to have palaces, towers, pavilions, embankments, ponds, and all other extravagances, to the most painful injury of you, the myriads of the people. He has burned and roasted the loyal and good. He has ripped up pregnant women. Great Heaven was moved with indignation, and charged my deceased father Wan to display its terrors; but he died before the work was completed.

“On this account, I, Fa, the little child, have by means of you, the hereditary rulers of my friendly States, contemplated the government of Shang; but Shau has no repentant heart. He sits squatting on his heels, not serving God nor the spirits of heaven and earth, neglecting also the temple of his ancestors, and not sacrificing in it. The victims and the vessels of millet all become the prey of wicked robbers, and still he says, ‘The people are mine; the heavenly appointment is mine,’ never trying to correct his contemptuous mind.

“Heaven, for the help of the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them instructors, that they might be able to be aiding to God, and secure the tranquillity of the four quarters of the kingdom. In regard to who are criminals and who are not, how dare I give any allowance to my own wishes?

“‘Where the strength is the same, measure the virtue of the parties; where the virtue is the same, measure their righteousness.’ Shau has hundreds of thousands and myriads of officers, but they have hundreds of thousands and myriads of minds; I have but three thousand officers, but they have one mind. The iniquity of Shang is full. Heaven gives command to destroy it. If I did not obey Heaven, my iniquity would be as great.

“I, the little child, early and late am filled with apprehensions. I have received the command of my deceased father Wan; I have offered special sacrifice to God; I have performed the due services to the great earth; and I lead the multitude of you to execute the punishment appointed by

Heaven. Heaven compassionates the people. What the people desire, Heaven will be found to give effect to. Do you aid me, the One man, to cleanse for ever all within the four seas. Now is the time! — It should not be lost.”

Section 2

On the day Wu-wu,⁵ the king halted on the north of the Ho. When all the princes with their hosts were assembled, the king reviewed the hosts, and made the following declaration: “Oh, ye multitudes of the west, harken all to my words.

“I have heard that the good man, doing good, finds the day insufficient; and that the evil man, doing evil, also finds the day insufficient. Now Shau, the king of Shang, with strength pursues his lawless way. He has driven away the timeworn sires, and cultivates intimacies with wicked men. Dissolute, intemperate, reckless, oppressive, his ministers have become assimilated to him; and they form combinations and contract animosities, and depend on their power to exterminate one another. The innocent cry to Heaven. The odor of such a state is felt on high.

“Heaven loves the people, and the sovereign should reverently carry out this mind of Heaven. Chieh, the sovereign of Hsia, would not follow the example of Heaven, but sent forth his poisonous injuries through the States of the kingdom; Heaven therefore gave its aid to Thang the Successful, and charged him to make an end of the appointment of Hsia. But the crimes of Shau exceed those of Chieh. He has degraded from office the greatly good man;⁶ he has behaved with cruel tyranny to his reprover and helper.⁷ He says that with him is the appointment of Heaven; he says that a reverent care of his conduct is not worth observing; he says that sacrifice is of no use; he says that tyranny is no harm. The beacon for him to look to was not far off — it

⁵ In Book iii we are told that Wu commenced his march to attack Chau-hsin, on Kwei-Chi, the second day of the moon. Calculating on to the day Wu-wu, we find that it was the twenty-eighth day of the same moon.

⁶ The count of Wei.

⁷ Pi-kan.

was that king of Hsia. It would seem that Heaven is going by means of me to rule the people. My dreams coincide with my divinations; the auspicious omen is double. My attack on Shang must succeed.

“Shau has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men, divided in heart and divided in practise; I have of ministers, able to govern, ten men,⁸ one in heart and one in practise. Though he has his nearest relatives with him, they are not like my virtuous men. Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear. The people are blaming me, the One man, for my delay; I must now go forward. My military prowess is displayed, and I enter his territories to take the wicked tyrant. My punishment of evil will be great, and more glorious than that executed by Thang. Rouse ye, my heroes! Do not think that he is not to be feared; better think that he can not be withstood. His people stand in trembling awe of him, as if the horns were falling from their heads. Oh! unite your energies, unite your hearts; so shall you forthwith surely accomplish the work, to last for all ages!”

Section 3

The time was on the morrow, when the king went round his six hosts in state, and made a clear declaration to all his officers. He said, “Oh, my valiant men of the west, from Heaven are the illustrious courses of duty, of which the several requirements are quite plain. And now Shau, the king of Shang, treats with contemptuous slight the five regular virtues, and abandons himself to wild idleness and irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven, and brought enmity between himself and the people.

“He cut through the leg-bones of those who were wading in the morning;⁹ he cut out the heart of the worthy man.¹⁰

⁸ Confucius tells us, in the “Analects,” that one of these ten was a woman; but whether the lady was Wu’s wife or mother is disputed.

⁹ This was in winter. Observing some people then wading through a stream, Chau-hsin caused their legs to be cut through at the shank-bone, that he might see their marrow.

¹⁰ Pi-kan.

By the use of his power, killing and murdering, he has poisoned and sickened all within the four seas. His honors and confidence are given to the villainous and bad. He has driven from him his instructors and guardians. He has thrown to the winds the statutes and penal laws. He has imprisoned and enslaved the upright officer. He neglects the sacrifices to heaven and earth. He has discontinued the offerings in the ancestral temple. He makes contrivances of wonderful device and extraordinary cunning to please his wife.¹¹ God will no longer indulge him, but with a curse is sending down on him this ruin. Do ye with untiring zeal support me, the One man, reverently to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven. The ancients have said, 'He who soothes us is our sovereign; he who oppresses us is our enemy.' This solitary fellow Shau, having exercised great tyranny, is your perpetual enemy. It is said again, 'In planting a man's virtue, strive to make it great; in putting away a man's wickedness, strive to do it from the roots.' Here I, the little child, by the powerful help of you, all my officers, will utterly exterminate your enemy. Do you, all my officers, march forward with determined boldness to sustain your prince. Where there is much merit, there shall be large reward; where you do not so advance, there shall be conspicuous disgrace.

"Oh! the virtue of my deceased father Wan was like the shining of the sun and moon. His brightness extended over the four quarters of the land, and shone signally in the western region. Hence it is that our Chau has received the allegiance of many States. If I subdue Shau, it will not be from my prowess, but from the faultless virtue of my deceased father Wan. If Shau subdue me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wan, but because I, the little child, am not good."

¹¹ The notorious Ta-chi, the accounts of whose shameless wickedness and atrocious cruelties almost exceed belief.

BOOK II. — THE SPEECH AT MU ¹

1. The time was the gray dawn of the day Chia-tze. On that morning the king came to the open country of Mu, in the borders of Shang, and addressed his army. In his left hand he carried a battle-axe, yellow with gold, and in his right he held a white ensign, which he waved, saying, "Far are ye come, ye men of the western regions!" He added, "Ah, ye hereditary rulers of my friendly States; ye managers of affairs — the Ministers of Instruction, of War, and of Works; the great officers subordinate to these, and the many other officers; the master of my body-guards; the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds; and ye, O men of Yung, Shu, Chiang, Mao, Wei, Lu, Phang, and Pho ² lift up your lances, join your shields, raise your spears: I have a speech to make."

2. The king then said, "The ancients have said, 'The hen does not announce the morning. The crowing of a hen in the morning indicates the subversion of the family.' Now, Shau, the king of Shang, follows only the words of his wife. In his blindness he has neglected the sacrifices which he ought to offer, and makes no response for the favors that he has received; he has also cast off his paternal and maternal relations, not treating them properly. They are only the vagabonds from all quarters, loaded with crimes, whom he honors and exalts, whom he employs and trusts, making them great officers and high nobles, so that they can tyrannize over the people, and exercise their villainies in the cities of Shang.

"Now, I, Fa, am simply executing respectfully the punishment appointed by Heaven. In to-day's business do not advance more than six or seven steps, and then stop and

¹ It is the morning of the day of battle, for which the king has prepared his host by the three speeches of the last Book.

² These are the names of eight different tribes or confederations of tribes of the south and west. We are to look for their sites in Szechuan, Yun-nan, and Hu-pei. They were, no doubt, an important portion of Wu's army, but only as auxiliaries. It is too much to ascribe, as some have done, the overthrow of Shang to an irruption of barbarous people from the west.

adjust your ranks; my brave men, be energetic! Do not exceed four blows, five blows, six blows, or seven blows, and then stop and adjust your ranks; my brave men, be energetic! Display a martial bearing. Be like tigers and panthers, like bears and grizzly bears — here in the borders of Shang. Do not rush on those who fly to us in submission, but receive them to serve our western land; my brave men, be energetic! If you be not energetic in all these matters, you will bring destruction on yourselves.”

BOOK III.—THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE WAR

1. In the first month, the day Chan-chan immediately followed the end of the moon's waning. The next day was Kwei-chi when the king, in the morning, marched from Chau¹ to attack and punish Shang. In the fourth month, at the first appearance of the moon, the king came from Shang to Fang,² when he hushed all the movements of war, and proceeded to cultivate the arts of peace. He sent back his horses to the south of mount Hwa, and let loose his oxen in the open country of Thao-lin,³ showing to all under heaven that he would not use them again.

On the day Ting-wei, he sacrificed in the ancestral temple of Chau, when the princes of the royal domain, and of the Tien, Hau, and Wei domains, all hurried about, carrying the dishes. The third day after was Kang-hsu, when he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and worshiped toward the hills and rivers, solemnly announcing the successful completion of the war.

After the moon began to wane, the hereditary princes of

¹ Chau is, probably, Wu's capital, called Hao, about ten miles south of the present district city of Chang-an, and not quite so far from his father's capital of Fang. The river Fang ran between them.

² In Fang there was the ancestral temple of the lords of Chau, and thither from the capital of Shang, Wu now repaired for the purpose of sacrificing.

³ The country about the hill of Mu-niu or Khwa-fu, in the southeast of the present department of Thung-chau. Thao-lin may be translated "Peach-forest."

the various States, and all the officers, received their appointments from Chau.⁴

2. The king spoke to the following effect: "Oh! ye host of princes, the first of our kings⁵ founded his State, and commenced the enlargement of its territory. Kung Liu⁶ was able to consolidate the services of his predecessor. But it was the king Thai who laid the foundations of the royal inheritance. The king Chi was diligent for the royal House; and my deceased father, King Wan, completed his merit, and grandly received the appointment of Heaven, to soothe the regions of our great land. The great States feared his strength; the small States thought fondly of his virtue. In nine years, however, the whole kingdom was not united under his rule, and it fell to me, the little child, to carry out his will.

"Detesting the crimes of Shang, I announced to great Heaven and the sovereign Earth, to the famous hill and the great river⁷ by which I passed, saying, 'I, Fa, the principled, king of Chau by a long descent, am about to administer a great correction to Shang. Shau, the present king of Shang, is without principle, cruel and destructive to the creatures of Heaven, injurious and tyrannical to the multitudes of the people, lord of all the vagabonds under heaven, who collect about him as fish in the deep, and beasts in the prairie. I, the little child, having obtained the help of virtuous men, presume reverently to comply with the will of God, and make an end of his disorderly ways. Our flowery and great land, and the tribes of the south and north, equally follow and consent with me. Reverently obeying the determinate counsel of Heaven, I pursue my punitive work to the east, to give

⁴ The new dynasty of Chau was now fully inaugurated.

⁵ By "the first of our kings," we must understand Chi, Shun's Minister of Agriculture; and his State was that of Thai.

⁶ Kung Liu, perhaps "Duke Liu," appears in Pin, the present Pin Chau of Shen-hsi, about the beginning of the eighteenth century B.C., reviving the fallen fortunes of the House of Chi. History is then silent about the family for more than four centuries, when we find Than-fu, called here "King Thai," founding the State of Chau.

⁷ Probably mount Hwa and the Ho.

tranquillity to its men and women. They meet me with their baskets full of dark-colored and yellow silks, thereby showing the virtues of us, the kings of Chau. Heaven's favors stir them up, so that they come with their allegiance to our great State of Chau. And now, ye spirits, grant me your aid, that I may relieve the millions of the people, and nothing turn out to your shame.' ”

3. On the day Wu-wu, the army crossed the ford of Mang, and on Kwei-hai it was drawn up in array in the borders of Shang, waiting for the gracious decision of Heaven. On Chia-tze, at early dawn, Shau led forward his troops, looking like a forest, and assembled them in the wild of Mu. But they offered no opposition to our army. Those in the front inverted their spears, and attacked those behind them, till they fled; and the blood flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars. Thus did King Wu once don his armor, and the kingdom was grandly settled. He overturned the existing rule of Shang, and made government resume its old course. He delivered the count of Chi from prison, and raised a mound over the grave of Pi-kan. He bowed forward to the cross-bar of his carriage at the gate of Shang Yung's village.⁸ He dispersed the treasures of the Stag Tower,⁹ and distributed the grain of Chu-chiao¹⁰ thus conferring great gifts on all within the four seas, so that the people joyfully submitted to him.

He arranged the nobles in five orders,¹¹ assigning the territories to them according to a threefold scale.¹² He gave offices only to the worthy, and employments only to the able.

⁸ Shang Yung must have been some worthy in disgrace with Shau, and living in the retirement of his village.

⁹ The Stag Tower was the name of a place in the present department of Wei-hui, Ho-nan, where Shau had accumulated great treasures. He fled to it after his defeat, and burned himself to death; but it would appear he had not succeeded in consuming at the same time all his wealth.

¹⁰ Chu-chiao was in the present district of Chu-chau, department Kwang-phing, Chih-li, where Shau had collected great stores of grain.

¹¹ Dukes, marquises, earls, counts, and barons.

¹² Dukes and marquises had the same amount of territory assigned to them, and counts and barons also.

He attached great importance to the people's being taught the duties of the five relations of society, and to measures for ensuring a sufficient supply of food, attention to the rites of mourning, and to sacrifices. He showed the reality of his truthfulness, and proved clearly his righteousness. He honored virtue, and rewarded merit. Then he had only to let his robes fall down, and fold his hands, and the kingdom was orderly ruled.

BOOK IV.—THE GREAT PLAN¹

1. In the thirteenth year,² the king went to inquire of the count of Chi, and said to him, "Oh! count of Chi, Heaven,

¹ The Great Plan is the most celebrated of the Books of the Shu. It is ordinarily classed among the "Counsels" or among the "Instructions," but might as well have a place among the "Canons." It is a remarkable production, and though it appears among the documents of the Chau Dynasty, there is claimed for the substance of it a much greater antiquity. According to the introductory sentences, King Wu, the founder of Chau, obtained it from the count of Chi in the same year, the thirteenth of his dignity as Chief of the West, that he took the field against the tyrant of Shang. The count of Chi, it is understood, was the Grand-Master at the court of Shang, who appears in the concluding Book of the last part. He says there, that, when ruin overtook the House of Shang, he would not be the servant of another dynasty. Accordingly, he refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of King Wu, who had delivered him from the prison in which he had been confined by Chau-hsin, and fled — or purposed perhaps to flee — to Korea. Wu respected and admired his fidelity to the fallen dynasty, and invested him with that territory. He then, it is said, felt constrained to appear at the court of Chau, when the king consulted him on the principles of government; and the result was that he communicated to him this Great Plan, with its nine divisions. When we read the Book, we see that it belonged originally to the time of Hsia, and that the larger portion of it should be ascribed to the Great Yu, and was as old, indeed, as the reign of Yao. How it had come into the possession of the count of Chi we can not tell. Nor does it appear how far the language of it should be ascribed to him. That the larger portion of it had come down from the times of Hsia is not improbable. The use of the number nine and other numbers, and the naming of the various divisions of the Plan, are in harmony with Yu's style and practise in his Counsels in the second part of our Classic, and in the second part also of the Tribute of Yu. We are told in the introductory sentences, that Heaven or God gave the Plan with its divisions to Yu. To explain the way in which the gift was made, there is a tradition about a myste-

² See the commencement of Book i.

working unseen, secures the tranquillity of the lower people, aiding them to be in harmony with their condition.³ I do not know how the unvarying principles of its method in doing so should be set forth in due order."

The count of Chi thereupon replied, "I have heard that in old time Khwan dammed up the inundating waters, and thereby threw into disorder the arrangement of the five elements. God was consequently roused to anger, and did not give him the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and thus the unvarying principles of Heaven's method were allowed to go to ruin. Khwan was therefore kept a prisoner till his death, and his son Yu rose up and entered on the same undertaking. To him Heaven gave the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and the unvarying principles of its method were set forth in their due order.

2. "Of those divisions the first is called 'the five ele-
rious tortoise that appeared in the waters of the Lo, bearing well-defined marks on its back from one to nine, and that thereupon Yu determined the meaning of those marks and of their numbers, and completed the nine divisions of the Plan. Of this legend, however, it is not necessary to speak in connection with the Shu, which does not mention it; it will come up in connection with the Yi King.

The Great Plan means the great model for the government of the nation — the method by which the people may be rendered happy and tranquil, in harmony with their condition, through the perfect character of the king, and his perfect administration of government.

Gaubil says that the Book is a treatise at once of physics, astrology, divination, morals, politics, and religion, and that it has a sufficiently close resemblance to the work of Ocellus the Lucanian. There is a shadowy resemblance between the Great Plan and the curious specimen of Pythagorean doctrine which we have in the treatise on the Universe: but the dissimilarities are still greater and more numerous. More especially are the differences between the Greek mind, speculative, and the Chinese mind, practical, apparent in the two works. Where the Chinese writer loses himself in the sheerest follies of his imagining, he yet gropes about for a rule to be of use in the conduct of human affairs.

³ Khung Ying-ta of the Thang Dynasty, says on this: "The people have been produced by supreme Heaven, and both body and soul are Heaven's gift. Men have thus the material body and the knowing mind, and Heaven further assists them, helping them to harmonize their lives. The right and the wrong of their language, the correctness and errors of their conduct, their enjoyment of clothing and food, the rightness of their various movements — all these things are to be harmonized by what they are endowed with by Heaven."

ments'; the second, 'reverent attention to the five personal matters'; the third, 'earnest devotion to the eight objects of government'; the fourth, 'the harmonious use of the five dividers of time'; the fifth, 'the establishment and use of royal perfection'; the sixth, 'the discriminating use of the three virtues'; the seventh, 'the intelligent use of the means for the examination of doubts'; the eighth, 'the thoughtful use of the various verifications'; the ninth, 'the hortatory use of the five sources of happiness, and the awing use of the six occasions of suffering.

3. i. "First, of the five elements.⁴ — The first is water; the second is fire; the third, wood; the fourth, metal; and the fifth, earth. The nature of water is to soak and descend; of fire, to blaze and ascend; of wood, to be crooked and straight; of metal, to yield and change; while that of earth is seen in seed-sowing and in-gathering. That which soaks and descends becomes salt; that which blazes and ascends becomes bitter; that which is crooked and straight becomes sour; that which yields and changes becomes acrid; and from seed-sowing and in-gathering comes sweetness."

⁴ English sinologists have got into the habit of rendering this Chinese symbol by "elements," but it hardly seems possible to determine what the Chinese mean by it. We intend by "elements" "the first principles or ingredients of which all things are composed." The Pythagoreans, by their four elements of earth, water, air, and fire, did not intend so much the nature or essence of material substances, as the forms under which matter is actually presented to us. The character *hsing*, meaning "to move," "to be in action," shows that the original conception of the Chinese is of a different nature; and it is said in the *Khang-hsi Dictionary*, "The five *hsing* move and revolve between heaven and earth, without ever ceasing, and hence they are named." The editors of the latest imperial edition of the *Shu* say, "Distributed through the four seasons, they make 'the five dividers of time'; exhibited in prognostications, they give rise to divination by the tortoise-shell and the reeds; having lodgment in the human body, they produce 'the five personal matters'; moved by good fortune and bad, they produce 'the various verifications'; communicated to organisms, they produce the different natures, hard and soft, good and evil; working out their results in the changes of those organisms, they necessitate—here benevolence and there meanness, here longevity and there early death—all these things are from the operation of the five *hsing*. But if we speak of them in their simplest and most important character, they are what man's life depends on, what the people can not do without." After all this, I should still be sorry to be required to say what the five *hsing* are.

ii. "Secondly, of the five personal matters.⁵ — The first is the bodily demeanor; the second, speech; the third, seeing; the fourth, hearing; the fifth, thinking. The virtue of the bodily appearance is respectfulness; of speech, accordance with reason; of seeing, clearness; of hearing, distinctness; of thinking, perspicaciousness. The respectfulness becomes manifest in gravity; accordance with reason in orderliness; the clearness, in wisdom; the distinctness, in deliberation; and the perspicaciousness, in sageness."

iii. "Thirdly, of the eight objects of government.⁶ — The first is food; the second, wealth and articles of convenience; the third, sacrifices; the fourth, the business of the Minister of Works; the fifth, that of the Minister of Instruction; the sixth, that of the Minister of Crime; the seventh, the observances to be paid to guests; the eighth, the army."

iv. "Fourthly, of the five dividers of time.⁷ — The first is the year or the planet Jupiter; the second, the moon; the third, the sun; the fourth, the stars and planets and the zodiacal spaces; and the fifth, the calendaric calculations."

v. "Fifthly, of royal perfection.⁸ — The sovereign, having established in himself the highest degree and pattern of excellence, concentrates in his own person the five sources of happiness, and proceeds to diffuse them, and give them to the multitudes of the people. Then they, on their part, embodying your perfection, will give it back to you, and secure the preservation of it. Among all the multitudes of the people

⁵ These five "matters" are represented as being in the human person what the five *hsing* are in nature. Demeanor is the human correspondence of water, speech that of fire, etc.

⁶ Medhurst calls the eight objects of government "the eight regulators," and Gaubil calls them "*les huit règles du gouvernement.*" The phrase means the eight things to be attended to in government — its objects and departments.

⁷ "The five dividers of time" are, with Medhurst, "the five arrangers," and with Gaubil, "*les cinq périodes.*" This division of the Great Plan is substantially the same as Yao's instructions to his astronomers.

⁸ By "royal perfection" we are to understand the sovereign when he is, or has made himself, all that he ought to be. "Perfection" is "the utmost point," the extreme of excellence, realized in the person of the sovereign, guiding his administrative measures, and serving as an example and attractive influence to all below, both ministers and people.

there will be no unlawful confederacies, and among men in office there will be no bad and selfish combinations; let the sovereign establish in himself the highest degree and pattern of excellence.

“Among all the multitudes of the people there will be those who have ability to plan and to act, and who keep themselves from evil: do you keep such in mind; and there will be those who, not coming up to the highest point of excellence, yet do not involve themselves in evil: let the sovereign receive such. And when a placid satisfaction appears in their countenances, and they say, ‘Our love is fixed on virtue,’ do you then confer favors on them; those men will in this way advance to the perfection of the sovereign. Do not let him oppress the friendless and childless, nor let him fear the high and distinguished. When men in office have ability and administrative power, let them be made still more to cultivate their conduct; and the prosperity of the country will be promoted. All such right men, having a competency, will go on in goodness. If you can not cause them to have what they love in their families, they will forthwith proceed to be guilty of crime. As to those who have not the love of virtue, although you confer favors and emoluments on them, they will only involve you in the guilt of employing the evil.

“Without deflection, without unevenness,
Pursue the royal righteousness.
Without selfish likings,
Pursue the royal way.
Without selfish dislikings,
Pursue the royal path.
Avoid deflection, avoid partiality;
Broad and long is the royal way.
Avoid partiality, avoid deflection;
Level and easy is the royal way.
Avoid perversity, avoid one-sidedness;
Correct and straight is the royal way.
Ever seek for this perfect excellence,
Ever turn to this perfect excellence.”

He went on to say, "This amplification of the royal perfection contains the unchanging rule, and is the great lesson; yea, it is the lesson of God. All the multitudes of the people, instructed in this amplification of the perfect excellence, and carrying it into practise, will thereby approximate to the glory of the Son of Heaven, and say, 'The Son of Heaven is the parent of the people, and so becomes the sovereign of all under the sky.'"

vi. "Sixthly, of the three virtues.⁹ — The first is correctness and straightforwardness; the second, strong rule; and the third, mild rule. In peace and tranquillity, correctness and straightforwardness must sway; in violence and disorder, strong rule; in harmony and order, mild rule. For the reserved and retiring there should be the stimulus of the strong rule; for the high-minded and distinguished, the restraint of the mild rule.

"It belongs only to the sovereign to confer dignities and rewards, to display the terrors of majesty, and to receive the revenues of the kingdom. There should be no such thing as a minister's conferring dignities or rewards, displaying the terrors of majesty, or receiving the revenues. Such a thing is injurious to the clans, and fatal to the States of the kingdom; smaller affairs are thereby managed in a one-sided and perverse manner, and the people fall into assumptions and excesses."

vii. "Seventhly, of the means for the examination of doubts.¹⁰ — Officers having been chosen and appointed for divining by the tortoise-shell and the stalks of the Achillea,

⁹ "The three virtues" are not personal attributes of the sovereign, but characteristics of his rule, the varied manifestations of the perfection described in the preceding division.

¹⁰ The practise of divination for the satisfaction of doubts was thus used in China from the earliest times. In the Counsels of Yu, that sage proposes to Shun to submit the question of who should be his successor on the throne to divination, and Shun replies that he had already done so. Gaubil says that according to the Great Plan divination was only used in doubtful cases; but if such was the practise of the sages, diviners and soothsayers must have formed, as they do now, a considerable and influential class in society. The old methods of divination were by means of the tortoise-shell, and the stalks of the Chi plant.

they are to be charged on occasion to execute their duties. In doing this, they will find the appearances of rain, of clearing up, of cloudiness, of want of connection, and of crossing; and the inner and outer diagrams. In all the indications are seven: five given by the shell, and two by the stalks; and by means of these any errors in the mind may be traced out. These officers having been appointed, when the divination is proceeded with, three men are to interpret the indications, and the consenting words of two of them are to be followed.

“When you have doubts about any great matter, consult with your own mind; consult with your high ministers and officers; consult with the common people; consult the tortoise-shell and divining stalks. If you, the shell, the stalks, the ministers and officers, and the common people, all agree about a course, this is what is called a great concord, and the result will be the welfare of your person and good fortune to your descendants. If you, the shell, and the stalks agree, while the ministers, and officers, and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the ministers and officers, with the shell and stalks, agree, while you and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the common people, the shell, and the stalks agree, while you, with the ministers and officers, oppose, the result will be fortunate. If you and the shell agree, while the stalks, with the ministers and officers, and the common people, oppose, internal operations will be fortunate, and external undertakings unlucky. When the shell and stalks are both opposed to the views of men, there will be good fortune in being still, and active operations will be unlucky.”

viii. “Eighthly, of the various verifications.¹¹ — They

¹¹ Gaubil renders by “*les apparences*” the characters which I have translated “the various verifications,” observing that he could not find any word which would cover the whole extent of the meaning. He says, “In the present case, the character signifies meteors, phenomena, appearances, but in such sort that these have relation to some other things with which they are connected; the meteor or phenomenon indicates some good or some evil. It is a kind of correspondence which is supposed, it appears, to exist between the ordinary events of the life of men and the constitution of the air, according to the different sea-



THE GOD OF FIRE.

*An ancient Chinese sculpture supposed to represent
the Fire God.*



are rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind, and seasonableness. When the five come, all complete, and each in its proper order, even the various plants will be richly luxuriant. Should any one of them be either excessively abundant or excessively deficient, there will be evil.

“There are the favorable verifications:¹² namely, of gravity, which is emblemized by seasonable rain; of orderliness, emblemized by seasonable sunshine; of wisdom, emblemized by seasonable heat; of deliberation, emblemized by seasonable cold; and of sageness, emblemized by seasonable wind. There are also the unfavorable verifications: namely, of recklessness, emblemized by constant rain; of assumption, emblemized by constant sunshine; of indolence, emblemized by constant heat, of hastiness, emblemized by constant cold; and of stupidity, emblemized by constant wind.”

He went on to say, “The king should examine the character of the whole year; the high ministers and officers that

sons; what is here said supposes — I know not what physical speculation of those times. It is needless to bring to bear on the text the interpretation of the later Chinese, for they are full of false ideas on the subject of physics. It may be also that the count of Chi wanted to play the physicist on points which he did not know.” There seems to underlie the words of the count that feeling of the harmony between the natural and spiritual worlds, which occurs at times to most men, and strongly affects minds under deep religious thought or on the wings of poetic rapture, but the way in which he endeavors to give the subject a practical application can only be characterized as grotesque.

¹² Compare with this what is said above on the second division of the Plan, “the five personal matters.” It is observed here by Tshai Chan, the disciple of Chu Hsi, and whose commentary on the Shu has, of all others, the greatest authority: “To say that on occasion of such and such a personal matter being realized, there will be the favorable verification corresponding to it, or that, on occasion of the failure of such realization, there will be the corresponding unfavorable verification, would betray a pertinacious obtuseness, and show that the speaker was not a man to be talked with on the mysterious operations of nature. It is not easy to describe the reciprocal meeting of Heaven and men. The hidden springs touched by failure and success, and the minute influences that respond to them: who can know these but the man that has apprehended all truth?” This is in effect admitting that the statements in the text can be of no practical use. And the same thing is admitted by the latest imperial editors of the Shu on the use which the text goes on to make of the thoughtful use of the verifications by the king and others.

of the month; and the inferior officers that of the day. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, there be an unchanging seasonableness, all the grains will be matured; the measures of government will be wise; heroic men will stand forth distinguished; and in the families of the people there will be peace and prosperity. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, the seasonableness be interrupted, the various kinds of grain will not be matured; the measures of government will be dark and unwise; heroic men will be kept in obscurity; and in the families of the people there will be an absence of repose.

“By the common people the stars should be examined. Some stars love wind, and some love rain. The courses of the sun and moon give winter and summer. The way in which the moon follows the stars gives wind and rain.”

ix. “Ninthly, of the five sources of happiness.¹³ — The first is long life; the second, riches; the third, soundness of body and serenity of mind; the fourth, the love of virtue; and the fifth, fulfilling to the end the will of Heaven. Of the six extreme evils, the first is misfortune shortening the life; the second sickness; the third, distress of mind; the fourth, poverty; the fifth, wickedness; the sixth, weakness.”¹⁴

BOOK V.—THE HOUNDS OF LU¹

1. After the conquest of Shang, the way being open to the nine tribes of the I and the eight of the Man,² the west-

¹³ It is hardly possible to see how this division enters into the scheme of the Great Plan.

¹⁴ “Wickedness” is, probably, boldness in what is evil, and “weakness,” feebleness of will in what is good.

¹ Lu was the name of one of the rude tribes of the west, lying beyond the provinces of Chau. Its situation can not be more exactly defined. Its people in compliment to King Wu, and impressed by a sense of his growing power, sent to him some of their hounds, and he having received them, or intimated that he would do so, the Grand-Guardian remonstrated with him.

² By “the nine I and eight Man” we are to understand generally the barbarous tribes lying round the China of Chau. Those tribes are variously enumerated in the ancient books. Generally the I are assigned to the east, the Tsung to the west, the Ti to the north, and the Man to the south.

ern tribe of Lu sent as tribute some of its hounds, on which the Grand-Guardian made "the Hounds of Lu," by way of instruction to the king.

2. He said, "Oh! the intelligent kings paid careful attention to their virtue, and the wild tribes on every side acknowledged subjection to them. The nearer and the more remote all presented the productions of their countries — in robes, food, and vessels for use. The kings then displayed the things thus drawn forth by their virtue, distributing them to the princes of the States of different surnames from their own, to encourage them not to neglect their duties. The more precious things and pieces of jade they distributed among their uncles in charge of States, thereby increasing their attachment to the throne. The recipients did not despise the things, but saw in them the power of virtue.

"Complete virtue allows no contemptuous familiarity. When a ruler treats superior men with such familiarity, he can not get them to give him all their hearts; when he so treats inferior men, he can not get them to put forth for him all their strength. Let him keep from being in bondage to his ears and eyes, and strive to be correct in all his measures. By trifling intercourse with men, he ruins his virtue; by finding his amusement in things of mere pleasure, he ruins his aims. His aims should repose in what is right; he should listen to words also in their relation to what is right.

"When he does not do what is unprofitable to the injury of what is profitable, his merit can be completed. When he does not value strange things to the contemning things that are useful, his people will be able to supply all that he needs. Even dogs and horses that are not native to his country he will not keep. Fine birds and strange animals he will not nourish in his State. When he does not look on foreign things as precious, foreigners will come to him; when it is real worth that is precious to him, his own people near at hand will be in a state of repose.

"Oh! early and late, never be but earnest. If you do not attend zealously to your small actions, the result will be to affect your virtue in great matters; in raising a mound of

nine fathoms, the work may be unfinished for want of one basket of earth. If you really pursue this course which I indicate, the people will preserve their possessions, and the throne will descend from generation to generation."

BOOK VI.—THE METAL-BOUND COFFER ¹

1. Two years after the conquest of Shang,² the king fell ill, and was quite disconsolate. The two other great dukes³ said, "Let us reverently consult the tortoise-shell about the king"; but the Duke of Chau⁴ said, "You must not so distress our former kings."⁵ He then took the business on himself, and reared three altars of earth on the same cleared space; and having made another altar on the south of these,

¹ King Wu is very ill, and his death seems imminent. His brother, the Duke of Chau, apprehensive of the disasters which such an event would occasion to their infant dynasty, conceives the idea of dying in his stead, and prays to "the three kings," their immediate progenitors, that he might be taken and King Wu left. Having done so, and divined that he was heard, he deposits the prayer in the metal-bound coffer. The king gets well, and the duke is also spared; but five years later, Wu does die, and is succeeded by his son, a boy only thirteen years old. Rumors are spread abroad that the duke has designs on the throne, and he withdraws for a time from the court. At length, in the third year of the young king, Heaven interposes. He has occasion to open the coffer, and the prayer of the duke is found. His devotion to his brother and to the interests of their family is brought to light. The boy-monarch weeps because of the unjust suspicions he had harbored, and welcomes the duke back to court, amid unmistakable demonstrations of the approval of Heaven.

² 1121 B.C.

³ These were the Duke of Shao, to whom the preceding Book is ascribed, and Thai-kung, who became the first of the lords of Chi.

⁴ It is in this Book that we first meet in the Shu with the Duke of Chau, a name in Chinese history only second to that of Confucius. He was the legislator and consolidator of the dynasty of Chau, equally mighty in words and in deeds—a man of counsel and of action. Confucius regarded his memory with reverence, and spoke of it as a sign of his own failing powers, that the Duke of Chau no longer appeared to him in his dreams. He was the fourth son of King Wan; his name was Tan, and he had for his appanage the territory of Chau, where Than-fu, canonized by him as King Thai, first placed the seat of his family in 1327 B.C., and hence he is commonly called "the Duke of Chau."

⁵ He negatives their proposal, having determined to take the whole thing on himself.

and facing the north, he took there his own position. Having put a round symbol of jade on each of the three altars, and holding in his hands the lengthened symbol of his own rank, he addressed the kings Thai, Chi, and Wan.

The grand historiographer had written on tablets his prayer, which was to this effect: "A. B., your great descendant, is suffering from a severe and violent disease; if you three kings have in Heaven the charge of watching over him, Heaven's great son, let me, Tan, be a substitute for his person.⁶ I was lovingly obedient to my father; I am possessed of many abilities and arts, which fit me to serve spiritual beings. Your great descendant, on the other hand, has not so many abilities and arts as I, and is not so capable of serving spiritual beings. And moreover he was appointed in the hall of God to extend his aid all over the kingdom, so that he might establish your descendants in this lower earth. The people of the four quarters all stand in reverent awe of him. Oh! do not let that precious Heaven-conferred appointment fall to the ground, and all the long line of our former kings will also have one in whom they can ever rest at our sacrifices. I will now seek for your determination in this matter from the great tortoise-shell. If you grant me my request I will take these symbols and this mace, and return and wait for your orders. If you do not grant it, I will put them by."⁷

The duke then divined with the three tortoise-shells, and all were favorable. He opened with a key the place where the oracular responses were kept, and looked at them, and they also were favorable. He said, "According to the form of the prognostic the king will take no injury. I, the little child,

⁶Two things are here plain: first, that the Duke of Chau offered himself to die in the room of his brother; and secondly, that he thought that his offer might somehow be accepted through the intervention of the great kings, their progenitors. He proceeds to give his reasons for making such an offer.

⁷The divination apparently took place before the altars, and a different shell was used to ascertain the mind of each king. The oracular responses would be a few lines, kept apart by themselves, and consulted, on occasion, according to certain rules which have not come down to the present day.

have got the renewal of his appointment from the three kings, by whom a long futurity has been consulted for. I have now to wait for the issue. They can provide for our One man."

When the duke returned, he placed the tablets of the prayer in a metal-bound coffer, and next day the king got better.

2. Afterward, upon the death of King Wu, the duke's elder brother, he of Kwan, and his younger brothers, spread a baseless report through the kingdom, to the effect that the duke would do no good to the king's young son. On this the duke said to the two other great dukes, "If I do not take the law to these men, I shall not be able to make my report to the former kings."⁸

He resided accordingly in the east for two years,⁹ when the criminals were taken and brought to justice. Afterward he made a poem to present to the king, and called it "The Owl." The king on his part did not dare to blame the duke.

In the autumn, when the grain was abundant and ripe, but before it was reaped, Heaven sent a great storm of thunder and lightning, along with wind, by which the grain was all broken down, and great trees torn up. The people were greatly terrified; and the king and great officers, all in their caps of State, proceeded to open the metal-bound coffer and examine the writings in it, where they found the words of the duke when he took on himself the business of being a substitute for King Wu. The two great dukes and the king asked the historiographer and all the other officers acquainted with the transaction about the thing, and they replied, "It was really thus; but ah! the duke charged us that we should not presume to speak about it." The king held the writing in his hand, and wept, saying, "We need not now go on

⁸ Wu died in 1116 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Sung, who is known in history as King Chang, or "the Completer." He was at the time only thirteen years old, and his uncle, the Duke of Chau, acted as regent. The jealousy of his elder brother Hsien, "lord of Kwan," and two younger brothers, was excited, and they spread the rumor which is referred to, and entered into a conspiracy with the son of the tyrant of Shang to overthrow the new dynasty.

⁹ These two years were spent in military operations against the revoltors.

reverently to divine. Formerly the duke was thus earnest for the royal House, but I, being a child, did not know it. Now Heaven has moved its terrors to display his virtue. That I, the little child, now go with my new views and feelings to meet him, is what the rules of propriety of our kingdom require."

The king then went out to the borders to meet the duke, when Heaven sent down rain, and, by virtue of a contrary wind, the grain all rose up. The two great dukes gave orders to the people to take up the trees that had fallen and replace them. The year then turned out very fruitful.

BOOK X.¹ — THE ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT DRUNKENNESS²

1. The king speaks to the following effect: "Do you clearly make known my great commands in the country of Mei."³

¹ Several of the lesser books of the Shu have been omitted from our volume both before and after this important Book x. The omitted documents are of little general interest.

² This Announcement was made to Fang, the Prince of Khang, about the time when he was invested with the principality of Wei. Mention has often been made in previous documents of the Shu of the drunken debauchery of Chieh as the chief cause of the downfall of the dynasty of Hsia, and of the same vice in Chau-hsin, the last of the kings of Shang. The people of Shang had followed the example of their sovereign, and drunkenness, with its attendant immoralities, characterized both the highest and lowest classes of society. One of Fang's most difficult tasks in his administration would be to correct this evil habit, and he is called in this Book to the undertaking. The title might be translated—"The Announcement about Spirits." The Chinese term *Chiu*, that is here employed, is often translated by "wine," but it denotes, it seems to me, "ardent spirits." As Gaubil says, "We have here to do with *le vin du riz*, the art of which was discovered, according to most writers, in the time of Yu, the founder of the First Dynasty. The grape was not introduced to China till that of the first Han." We find this story in the "Plans of the Warring States," a work covering about four centuries from the death of Confucius: "Anciently, the daughter of the Ti ordered I-ti to make Chiu. She admired it, and presented some to Yu, who drank it, and found it pleasant. He then discarded I-ti, and denounced the use of such generous Chiu, saying, 'In future ages there are sure to be those who by Chiu will lose their states.'" According to this tradition intoxicating Chiu was known in the time of Yu—in the twenty-third century B.C. The daughter of the Ti would be Yu's wife, and I-ti would probably be their cook.

³ There is a place called "the village of Mei," in the north of the

“When your reverent father, the King Wan, laid the foundations of our kingdom in the western region, he delivered announcements and cautions to the princes of the various regions, and to all his high officers, with their assistants, and the managers of affairs, saying, morning and evening, ‘At sacrifices spirits should be employed.’ When Heaven was sending down its favoring decree, and laying the foundations of the eminence of our people, spirits were used only at the great sacrifices. When Heaven sends down its terrors, and our people are thereby greatly disorganized and lose their virtue, this may be traced invariably to their indulgence in spirits; yea, the ruin of States, small and great, by these terrors, has been caused invariably by their guilt in the use of spirits.”⁴

“King Wan admonished and instructed the young nobles, who were charged with office or in any employment, that they should not ordinarily use spirits; and throughout all the States he required that such should drink spirits only on occasion of sacrifices, and that then virtue should preside so that there might be no drunkenness.”⁵

He said, “Let my people teach their young men that they present district of Chi, department Wei-hui, Ho-nan—a relic of the ancient name of the whole territory. The royal domain of Shang, north from the capital, was all called Mei. Fang’s principality of Wei must have embraced most of it.

⁴ Ku Hsi says upon the meaning of the expressions “Heaven was sending down its favoring decree” (its order to make Chiu, as he understood the language), and “when Heaven sends down its terrors,” in this paragraph: “Chang Nan-hsien has brought out the meaning of these two statements much better than any of the critics who went before him, to the following effect: Chiu is a thing intended to be used in offering sacrifices and in entertaining guests; such employment of it is what Heaven has prescribed. But men by their abuse of Chiu come to lose their virtue, and destroy their persons; such employment of it is what Heaven has annexed its terrors to. The Buddhists, hating the use of things where Heaven sends down its terrors, put away as well the use of them which Heaven has prescribed. It is not so with us of the learned (*i.e.*, the Confucian, or orthodox) school; we only put away the use of things to which Heaven has annexed its terrors, and the use of them, of which it approves, remains as a matter of course.”

⁵ In sacrificing, the fragrant odor of spirits was supposed to be acceptable to the Beings worshiped. Here the use of spirits seems to be permitted in moderation to the worshipers after the sacrifices. Observe

are to love only the productions of the soil, for so will their hearts be good. Let the young also harken wisely to the constant instructions of their fathers; and let them look at all virtuous actions, whether great or small, in the same light with watchful heed.

“Ye people of the land of Mei, if you can employ your limbs, largely cultivating your millets, and hastening about in the service of your fathers and elders; and if, with your carts and oxen, you traffic diligently to a distance, that you may thereby filially minister to your parents; then, when your parents are happy, you may set forth your spirits clear and strong, and use them.⁶

“Harken constantly to my instructions, all ye, my high officers and ye heads of departments, all ye, my noble chiefs; when ye have largely done your duty in ministering to your aged, and serving your ruler, ye may eat and drink freely and to satiety. And to speak of greater things: when you can maintain a constant, watchful examination of yourselves, and your conduct is in accordance with correct virtue, then may you present the offerings of sacrifice, and at the same time indulge yourselves in festivity. In such case you will indeed be ministers doing right service to your king, and Heaven likewise will approve your great virtue, so that you shall never be forgotten in the royal House.”

2. The king says, “O Fang, in our western region, the princes of States, and the young nobles, sons of the managers of affairs, who in former days assisted King Wan, were all able to obey his lessons, and abstain from excess in the use of spirits; and so it is that I have now received the appointment which belonged to Yin.”

The king says, “O Fang, I have heard it said that formerly the first wise king of Yin manifested a reverential awe of the bright principles of Heaven and of the lower people, acting accordingly, steadfast in his virtue, and holding fast his

how King Wan wished to guard the “young” from acquiring the habit of drinking spirits.

⁶ Here is another permissible use of spirits: at family feasts, with a view especially to the comfort of the aged.

wisdom. From him, Thang the Successful, down to Ti-yi,⁷ all completed their royal virtue and revered their chief ministers, so that their managers of affairs respectfully discharged their helping duties, and dared not to allow themselves in idleness and pleasure; how much less would they dare to indulge themselves in drinking! Moreover, in the exterior domains, the princes of the Hau, Tien, Nan, and Wei States,⁸ with their presiding chiefs; and in the interior domain, all the various officers, the directors of the several departments, the inferior officers and employees, the heads of great houses, and the men of distinguished name living in retirement, all eschewed indulgence in spirits. Not only did they not dare to indulge in them, but they had not leisure to do so, being occupied with helping to complete the sovereign's virtue and make it more illustrious, and helping the directors of affairs reverently to attend to his service.

"I have heard it said likewise that the last successor of those kings was addicted to drink, so that no charges came from him brightly before the people, and he was as if reverently and unchangingly bent on doing and cherishing what provoked resentment. Greatly abandoned to extraordinary lewdness and dissipation, for pleasure's sake he sacrificed all his majesty. The people were all sorely grieved and wounded in heart; but he gave himself wildly up to drink, not thinking of restraining himself, but continuing his excess, till his mind was frenzied, and he had no fear of death. His crimes accumulated in the capital of Shang; and though the extinction of the dynasty was imminent, this gave him no concern, and he wrought not that any sacrifices of fragrant virtue might ascend to Heaven. The rank odor of the people's resentments, and the drunkenness of his herd of crea-

⁷ Ti-yi was the father of Chau-hsin, the twenty-seventh Shang sovereign. The sovereigns between Thang and him had not all been good, but the Duke of Chau chooses here to say so.

⁸ These were the first, second, third, and fifth domains or territorial divisions of the land under Chau, counting back from the royal domain. It appears here that an arrangement akin to that of Chau had been made in the time of Shang.

tures, went loudly upon high, so that Heaven sent down ruin on Yin, and showed no love for it, because of such excesses. There is not any cruel oppression of Heaven; people themselves accelerate their guilt, and its punishment."

The king says, "O Fang, I make you this long announcement, not for the pleasure of doing so; but the ancients have said, 'Let not men look into water; let them look into the glass of other people.' Now that Yin has lost its appointment, ought we not to look much to it as our glass, and learn how to secure the repose of our time? I say to you: Strenuously warn the worthy ministers of Yin, and the princes in the Hau, the Tien, the Nan, and the Wei domains; and still more your friends, the great Recorder and the Recorder of the Interior, and all your worthy ministers, the heads of great Houses; and still more those whom you serve, with whom you calmly discuss matters, and who carry out your measures; and still more those who are, as it were, your mates — your Minister of War who deals with the rebellious, your Minister of Instruction who is like a protector to the people, and your Minister of Works who settles the boundaries; and above all, do you strictly keep yourself from drink.

"If you are informed that there are companies that drink together, do not fail to apprehend them all, and send them here to Chau, where I may put them to death. As to the ministers and officers of Yin who were led to it and became addicted to drink, it is not necessary to put them to death at once; let them be taught for a time. If they follow these lessons of mine, I will give them bright distinction. If they disregard my lessons, then I, the One man, will show them no pity. As they can not change their way, they shall be classed with those who are to be put to death."

The king says, "O Fang, give constant heed to my admonitions. If you do not rightly manage the officers, the people will continue lost in drunkenness."

BOOK XXVII.—THE MARQUIS OF LU ON PUNISHMENTS ¹

1. In reference to the charge to the marquis of Lu: When the king had occupied the throne till he reached the age of a hundred years, he gave great consideration to the appointment of punishments, in order to deal with the people of the four quarters.

2. The king said, "According to the teachings of ancient times, Chih Yu was the first to produce disorder, which spread among the quiet, orderly people, till all became robbers and murderers, owl-like and yet self-complacent in their conduct, traitors and villains, snatching and filching, dissemblers and oppressors."²

"Among the people of Miao, they did not use the power of goodness, but the restraint of punishments. They made the five punishments engines of oppression,"³ calling them

¹The charge or charges recorded in this Book were given in the hundredth year of King Mu, 952 B.C. The title of the Book in Chinese is simply "Lu's Punishments," and I conclude that Lu, or the marquis of Lu, was a high minister who prepared, by the king's orders, a code of punishments for the regulation of the kingdom, in connection with the undertaking, or the completion, of which the king delivered to his princes and judges the sentiments that are here preserved. The fifth section treats principally of the commutation or redemption of punishments, and has been very strongly condemned by critics and moralists. They express their surprise that such a document should be in the Shu, and, holding that the collection was made by Confucius, venture to ask what the sage meant by admitting it. There is, in fact, no evidence that the redemption of punishments, on the scale here laid down, existed in China before Mu's time. It has entered, however, into the penal code of every subsequent dynasty. Great official corruption and depravation of the general morality would seem to be inseparable from such a system.

²Chih Yu is the most ancient name mentioned in the Shu, and carries us back, according to the Chinese chronologists, nearly to the beginning of the twenty-seventh century B.C. It is remarkable that at the commencement of Chinese history, Chinese tradition placed a period of innocence, a season when order and virtue ruled in men's affairs.

³We do not think it is intended to say here that "the five punishments" were invented by the chiefs of the Miao; but only that these used them excessively and barbarously. From two passages in the Canon of Shun, we conclude that that monarch was acquainted with "the five great inflictions or punishments," and gave instructions to his minister Kao-yao as to their use.

the laws. They slaughtered the innocent, and were the first also to go to excess in cutting off the nose, cutting off the ears, castration, and branding. All who became liable to those punishments were dealt with without distinction, no difference being made in favor of those who could offer some excuse. The people were gradually affected by this state of things, and became dark and disorderly. Their hearts were no more set on good faith, but they violated their oaths and covenants. The multitudes who suffered from the oppressive terrors, and were in danger of being murdered, declared their innocence to Heaven. God surveyed the people, and there was no fragrance of virtue arising from them, but the rank odor of their cruel punishments.

“The great Ti⁴ compassionated the innocent multitudes that were in danger of being murdered, and made the oppressors feel the terrors of his majesty. He restrained and finally extinguished the people of Miao, so that they should not continue to future generations. Then he commissioned Chung and Li⁵ to make an end of the communications between earth and heaven; and the descents of spirits ceased.

⁴Here is the name — Hwang Ti — by which the sovereigns of China have been styled from 221 B.C., since the emperor of Chin, on his extinction of the feudal States, enacted that it should be borne by himself and his descendants. There can be no doubt that it was Shun whom King Mu intended by the name. A few sentences further on, the mention of Po-i and Yu leads us to the time subsequent to Yao, and there does not appear to be any change of subject in the paragraph. We get from this Book a higher idea of the power of the Miao than from the Books of Part II.

⁵Chung and Li are nowhere met with in the previous parts of the Shu, nor in any other reliable documents of history, as officers of Shun. Tshai Chan and others would identify them with the Hsi and Ho of the Canon of Yao, and hold those to have been descended from a Chung and a Li, supposed to belong to the time of Shao Hao in the twenty-sixth century B.C.

Whoever they were, the duty with which they were charged was remarkable. In the Narratives of the States (a book of the Chau Dynasty), we find a conversation on it, during the lifetime of Confucius, between King Chao of Chu (515–489 B.C.) and one of his ministers, called Kwan Yi-fu. “What is meant,” asked the king, “by what is said in one of the Books of Chau about Chung and Li, that they really brought it about that there was no intercourse between heaven and earth? If they had not done so, would people have been

From the princes down to the inferior officers, all helped with clear intelligence the spread of the regular principles of duty, and the solitary and widows were no longer overlooked. The great Ti with an unprejudiced mind carried his inquiries low down among the people, and the solitary and widows laid before him their complaints against the Miao. He awed the people by the majesty of his virtue, and enlightened them by its brightness. He thereupon charged the three princely ministers⁶ to labor with compassionate anxiety in the people's behalf. Po-i delivered his statutes to prevent the people from rendering themselves obnoxious to punishment; Yu reduced to order the water and

able to ascend to heaven?" The minister replied that that was not the meaning at all, and gave his own view of it at great length, to the following effect: Anciently, the people attended to the discharge of their duties to one another, and left the worship of spiritual beings—the seeking intercourse with them, and invoking and effecting their descent on earth—to the officers who were appointed for that purpose. In this way things proceeded with great regularity. The people minded their own affairs, and the spirits minded theirs. Tranquillity and prosperity were the consequence. But in the time of Shao Hao, through the lawlessness of Chiu-li, a change took place. The people intruded into the functions of the regulators of the spirits and their worship. They abandoned their duties to their fellow men, and tried to bring down spirits from above. The spirits themselves, no longer kept in check and subjected to rule, made their appearance irregularly and disastrously. All was confusion and calamity, when Chwan Hsu (2510–2433 B.C.) took the case in hand. He appointed Chung, the Minister of the South, to the superintendence of heavenly things, to prescribe the laws for the spirits, and Li, the Minister of Fire, to the superintendency of earthly things, to prescribe the rules for the people. In this way both spirits and people were brought back to their former regular courses, and there was no unhallowed interference of the one with the other. This was the work described in the text. But subsequently the chief of San-miao showed himself a Chiu-li *redivivus*, till Yao called forth the descendants of Chung and Li, who had not forgotten the virtue and functions of their fathers, and made them take the case in hand again.

According to Yi-fu's statements Chung's functions were those of the Minister of Religion, and Li's those of the Minister of Instruction; but Hsi and Ho were simply Ministers of Astronomy and the Calendar, and their descendants continue to appear as such in the Shu to the reign of Chung Khang, long after we know that men of other families were appointed to the important ministries of Chung and Li.

⁶ Those immediately mentioned — Po-i, Yu, and Chi. See the Canon of Shun and other Books of Part II.

the land, and presided over the naming of the hills and rivers; Chi spread abroad a knowledge of agriculture, and the people extensively cultivated the admirable grains. When the three princes had accomplished their work, it was abundantly well with the people. The Minister of Crime⁷ exercised among them the restraint of punishment in exact adaptation to each offense, and taught them to reverence virtue. The greatest gravity and harmony in the sovereign, and the greatest intelligence in those below him, thus shining forth to all quarters of the land, all were rendered diligent in cultivating their virtue. Hence, if anything more were wanted, the clear adjudication of punishments effected the regulation of the people, and helped them to observe the regular duties of life. The officers who presided over criminal cases executed the law fearlessly against the powerful, and faithfully against the wealthy. They were reverent and cautious. They had no occasion to make choice of words to vindicate their conduct. The virtue of Heaven was attained to by them; from them was the determination of so great a matter as the lives of men. In their low sphere they yet corresponded to Heaven and enjoyed its favor."

3. The king said, "Ah! you who direct the government and preside over criminal cases through all the land, are you not constituted the shepherds of Heaven? To whom ought you now to look as your pattern? Is it not to Po-i, spreading among the people his lessons to avert punishments? And from whom ought you now to take warning? Is it not from the people of Miao, who would not examine into the circumstances of criminal cases, and did not make choice of good officers that should see to the right apportioning of the five punishments, but chose the violent and bribe-snatchers, who determined and administered them, so as to oppress the innocent, until God would no longer hold them guiltless, and sent down calamity on Miao, when the people had no plea to allege in mitigation of their punishment, and their name was cut off from the world?"

4. The king said, "Oh! lay it to heart. My uncles, and

⁷ Kao-yao.

all ye, my brethren and cousins, my sons and my grandsons,⁸ listen all of you to my words, in which, it may be, you will receive a most important charge. You will only tread the path of satisfaction by being daily diligent; do not have occasion to beware of the want of diligence. Heaven, in its wish to regulate the people, allows us for a day to make use of punishments. Whether crimes have been premeditated, or are unpremeditated, depends on the parties concerned; do you deal with them so as to accord with the mind of Heaven, and thus serve me, the One man. Though I would put them to death, do not you therefore put them to death; though I would spare them, do not you therefore spare them. Reverently apportion the five punishments, so as fully to exhibit the three virtues.⁹ Then shall I, the One man, enjoy felicity; the people will look to you as their sure dependence; the repose of such a State will be perpetual."

5. The king said, "Ho! come, ye rulers of States and territories,¹⁰ I will tell you how to make punishments a blessing. It is yours now to give repose to the people; what should you be most concerned about the choosing of? Should it not be the proper men? What should you deal with the most reverently? Should it not be punishments? What should you calculate the most carefully? Should it not be to whom these will reach?"

"When both parties are present, with their documents and witnesses all complete, let the judges listen to the five-fold statements that may be made.¹¹ When they have examined and fully made up their minds on those, let them adjust the case to one of the five punishments. If the five punishments do not meet it, let them adjust it to one of the

⁸ Meaning all the princes of the same surname as himself. As he was a hundred years old, there might well be among them those who were really his sons and grandsons.

⁹ "The three virtues" are those of the Great Plan; those of "correctness and straightforwardness," of "strong government," and of "mild government."

¹⁰ Meaning all the princes; of the king's own and other surnames.

¹¹ That is, the statements, with the evidence on both sides, whether incriminating or exculpating. They are called fivefold, as the case might have to be dealt with by one or other of "the five punishments."

five redemption-fines; and if these, again, are not sufficient for it, let them reckon it among the five cases of error.¹²

“In settling the five cases of error there are evils to be guarded against: being warped by the influence of power, or by private grudge, or by female solicitation, or by bribes, or by applications. Any one of these things should be held equal to the crime before the judges. Do you carefully examine, and prove yourselves equal to every difficulty.

“When there are doubts as to the infliction of any of the five punishments, that infliction should be forborne. When there are doubts as to the infliction of any of the five fines, it should be forborne. Do you carefully examine, and prove yourselves equal to overcome every difficulty. When you have examined and many things are clear, yet form a judgment from studying the appearance of the parties. If you find nothing out on examination, do not listen to the case any more. In everything stand in awe of the dread majesty of Heaven.

“When in a doubtful case, the punishment of branding is forborne, the fine to be laid on instead is 600 ounces of copper; but you must first have satisfied yourselves as to the crime. When the case would require the cutting off the nose, the fine must be double this — with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be the cutting off the feet, the fine must be 3000 ounces — with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be castration,¹³ the fine must be 3600 ounces — with the same determination. When the punishment would be death, the fine must be 6000 ounces — with the same determination. Of crimes that may be redeemed by the fine in lieu of branding there are 1000; and the same number of those that would otherwise incur cutting off the nose. The fine in lieu of cutting off the feet extends to 500

¹² That is, the offenses of inadvertence. What should ensue on the adjudication of any case to be so ranked does not appear. It would be very leniently dealt with, and perhaps pardoned. In “the Counsels of Yu,” Kao-yao says to Shun, “You pardon inadvertent offenses, however great.”

¹³ Or solitary confinement in the case of a female.

cases; that in lieu of castration, to 300; and that in lieu of death, to 200. Altogether, set against the five punishments, there are 3000 crimes. In the case of others not exactly defined, you must class them with the next higher or next lower offenses, not admitting assumptive and disorderly pleadings, and not using obsolete laws. Examine and act lawfully, judging carefully, and proving yourselves equal to every difficulty.

“Where the crime should incur one of the higher punishments, but there are mitigating circumstances, apply to it the next lower. Where it should incur one of the lower punishments, but there are aggravating circumstances, apply to it the next higher. The light and heavy fines are to be apportioned in the same way by the balance of circumstances. Punishments and fines should also be light in one age, and heavy in another. To secure uniformity in this seeming irregularity, there are certain relations of things to be considered, and the essential principle to be observed.

“The chastisement of fines is short of death, yet it will produce extreme distress. They are not therefore persons of artful tongues who should determine criminal cases, but really good persons, whose awards will hit the right mean. Examine carefully where there are any discrepancies in the statements; the view which you were resolved not to follow, you may see occasion to follow; with compassion and reverence settle the cases; examine carefully the penal code, and deliberate with all about it, that your decisions may be likely to hit the proper mean and be correct, whether it be the infliction of a punishment or a fine, examining carefully and mastering every difficulty. When the case is thus concluded, all parties will acknowledge the justice of the sentence; and when it is reported, the sovereign will do the same. In sending up reports of cases, they must be full and complete. If a man have been tried on two counts, his two punishments must be recorded.”

6. The king said, “Oh! let there be a feeling of reverence. Ye judges and princes, of the same surname with me, and of other surnames, know all that I speak in much fear. I think

with reverence of the subject of punishment, for the end of it is to promote virtue. Now Heaven, wishing to help the people, has made us its representatives here below. Be intelligent and pure in hearing each side of a case. The right ordering of the people depends on the impartial hearing of the pleas on both sides; do not seek for private advantage to yourselves by means of those pleas. Gain so got by the decision of cases is no precious acquisition; it is an accumulation of guilt, and will be recompensed with many judgments: you should ever stand in awe of the punishment of Heaven. It is not Heaven that does not deal impartially with men, but men ruin themselves. If the punishment of Heaven were not so extreme, nowhere under the sky would the people have good government."

7. The king said, "Oh! ye who shall hereafter inherit the dignities and offices of the present time, to whom are ye to look for your models? Must it not be to those who promoted the virtue belonging to the unbiased nature of the people? I pray you give attention to my words. The wise men of antiquity by their use of punishments obtained boundless fame. Everything relating to the five punishments exactly hit with them the due mean, and hence came their excellence. Receiving from your sovereigns the good multitudes, behold in the case of those men punishments made felicitous!"

BOOK XXX.¹—THE SPEECH OF THE MARQUIS OF CHIN²

The duke³ said, "Ah! my officers, listen to me without noise. I solemnly announce to you the most important of

¹ This is the closing document of the Shu, which thus ends abruptly.

² The State of Chin, at the time to which this speech belongs, was one of the most powerful in the kingdom, and already giving promise of what it would grow to. Ultimately, one of its princes overthrew the dynasty of Chau, and brought feudal China to an end. Its earliest capital was in the present district of Chang-shui, Chin Chau, Kan-su.

Chin was besieging the capital of Chang, and threatened to ex-

³ The Prince of Chin was only a marquis; but the historiographers or recorders of a State always gave their ruler the higher title. This shows that this speech is taken from the chronicles of Chin.

all sayings. It is this which the ancients have said, 'Thus it is with all people — they mostly love their ease. In reproving others there is no difficulty, but to receive reproof, and allow it to have free course — this is difficult.' The sorrow of my heart is that the days and months have passed away, and it is not likely they will come again, so that I might pursue a different course.

"There were my old counselors.— I said, 'They will not accommodate themselves to me,' and I hated them. There were my new counselors, and I would for the time give my confidence to them.⁴ So indeed it was with me; but hereafter I will take advice from the men of yellow hair, and then I shall be free from error. That good old officer! — his strength is exhausted, but I would rather have him as my counselor. That dashing brave officer! — his shooting and chariotting are faultless, but I would rather not wish to have him. As to men of quibbles, skilful at cunning words, and able to make the good man change his purposes, what have I to do to make much use of them?

"I have deeply thought and concluded. Let me have but tinguish that State. The Marquis of Chin, however, was suddenly induced to withdraw his troops, leaving three of his officers in friendly relations with the court of Chang, and under engagement to defend the State from aggression. These men played the part of spies in the interest of Chin, and in 629 B.C., one of them, called Chi-tze, sent word that he was in charge of one of the gates, and if an army were sent to surprise the capital, Chang might be added to the territories of Chin. The marquis — known in history as Duke Mu — laid the matter before his counselors. The most experienced of them were against taking advantage of the proposed treachery; but the marquis listened rather to the promptings of ambition; and the next year he sent a large force, under his three ablest commanders, hoping to find Chang unprepared for any resistance. The attempt, however, failed; and the army, on its way back to Chin, was attacked by another duke and sustained a terrible defeat. Mu went from his capital to meet the disgraced generals, and comforted them, saying that the blame of their defeat was due to himself, who had refused to listen to the advice of his wise counselors. Then also, it is said, he made the speech here preserved for the benefit of all his ministers, describing the good and bad minister, and the different issues of listening to them, and deploring how he had himself foolishly rejected the advice of his aged counselors, and followed that of new men — a thing which he would never do again.

⁴ Chi-tze and others.

one resolute minister, plain and sincere, without other ability, but having a straightforward mind, and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as if he himself possessed them; and when he finds accomplished and sage men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, really showing himself able to bear them: such a minister would be able to preserve my descendants and people, and would indeed be a giver of benefits.

“But if the minister, when he finds men of ability, be jealous and hates them; if, when he finds accomplished and sage men, he oppose them and does not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them: such a man will not be able to protect my descendants and people; and will he not be a dangerous man?”

“The decline and fall of a State may arise from one man. The glory and tranquillity of a State may also arise from the goodness of one man.”

END OF THE SHU KING

THE SHIH KING
OR
CLASSIC OF POETRY

“ My children, why does no one of you study the songs of the Shih? They are well fitted to rouse the mind, to assist observation, to make people sociable, to arouse virtuous indignation. They speak of duties near and far.”

— CONFUCIUS.

THE SHIH KING

(INTRODUCTION)

THE character of the Shih King, or Classic of Poetry, has been explained in the general introduction to this volume. It contains five parts. The first is made up of fifteen small books of songs collected from fifteen ancient Chinese States. The second contains eight books of ritual songs for minor festivals. The third has three books of songs for the greater festivals; and the fourth, five books of hymns and eulogies. The last of all these books is chronologically the first. It contains some strange old songs of the Shang Dynasty, glorifying the hero Thang, of whom the early books of the Shu King have already told us. We have here, then, some verse which dates back to the seventeenth or eighteenth century B.C. The reader may profitably begin the quaint collection of the Shih by delving first into this last, but oldest, book of Shang.

The other poems of the Shih are of later date and touch many themes. Their meaning is not always clear even to the most learned of Chinese commentators. The authors and occasions of the ancient songs have been long forgotten, and tradition has usually assigned to each piece some kingly author, some noted State occasion, and some mystic meaning. These rather pompous explanations are at times whimsically inconsistent with the lines themselves.

There is, however, a yet subtler difficulty in understanding the poems. The Chinese language, even in prose, can not be literally expressed in English. It has no such grammatical structure as our sentences. And when we come to Chinese poetry, each character stands as the symbol of a separate idea. What relation these ideas bear to one another is left chiefly to the reader's imagination. Hence two Chinamen reading the same poem will draw from it quite different meanings, and each reader may be convinced that he alone

has been in sympathy with the poet, has caught his underlying reason for grouping this particular series of ideas or word-pictures in this particular succession. The celebrated sage Mencius, indeed, explained that only in such fashion could the Five Classics be in the least understood. He said, "We must try with our thoughts to meet the scope of a sentence; and thus we can grasp its larger meaning."

When to this difficulty of understanding a Chinese rhapsody we add the further problem of putting English words of connection and grammatical syntax to these inchoate ideas, we can realize why no two translations of a Chinese poem — and especially of an antique poem — are ever alike. To illustrate the width of this inevitable divergence we give here four different translations of the poem commonly set first in the *Shih*. Without this preliminary warning a reader might easily accept them as four separate poems. Yet each of the translators offers his work in good faith as conveying the intent and spirit of the original. Moreover, each has understood the original fully; his difficulty lies in reconveying that meaning to English readers by English words.

The first translation has been culled from a contemporary scholarly journal of China. The writer is influenced mainly by the mechanical form of Chinese poetry. He seeks to echo that. Each line of the original poem, as indeed of most Chinese poems, consists of four symbols. So that the usual four-line stanza suggests a four-square fortress, angular and bristling like a thorn-hedge, the antithesis of everything melodious. Its four times four symbols offer sixteen ideas very brief, much repeated, loosely related. This brief and angular spirit is what our first translator echoes.

Next we give Mr. Allen's graceful and vigorous versification of the poem. His idea is that, to the old Chinese, the little song offered something pleasing. It must have seemed to them simple and natural. Therefore to create the same impression on us, he also must have simple and natural lines, holding the spirit, not the mechanics, of the original.

Next we give Professor Legge's attempt at what is called a "literal" translation. That is to say, he takes the four

Chinese symbols of each line and makes of them an English line containing the same four ideas. These he connects in sense, but only so far as our grammatical language makes necessary. They are left almost as independent as in the original; though the translator has ventured so far as to assign the various actions to the various actors, an essential point which the Chinese verse left to the judgment of the reader.

Finally we give Professor Legge's more elaborate rendering of the poem in the smooth English verse. In this he endeavored to give full expression to what he regarded as the true meaning of the poem. The Chinese commentators have, of course, supplied this little song, as they have all the others of the Shih, with a complete explanation, in fact with several differing explanations. Professor Legge adopts the most authoritative of these, and so offers us the poem as he thinks it must present itself to a devout modern Chinaman.

To wrestle thus with all the details of the three hundred and more poems of the entire Shih would require volumes. So that, after this first book of primitive songs from Chau, we give only the most striking and characteristic poems. These are, first, some typical local songs from other regions beside Chau, from the rude "far west" of China, and from Thang, the home of the earliest civilization and half mythical kings. Then follow a number of the songs of the lesser and greater festivals or ceremonies, and some of the most impressive pieces from the book of Hymns, including a well-known "national anthem." The whole closes with the ancient and impressive Odes of Shang.

THE SHIH KING

PART I

BOOK I.—SONGS OF THE LAND OF CHAU¹ AND THE SOUTH

SONG ONE (FIRST TRANSLATION)

1.

As the ospreys woo
On the river ait,²
So the graceful lass
Has her manly mate.

2.

As the coy marsh-flowers
Here and there do peep,
So the graceful lass
In his wakeful sleep.

3.

But he seeks in vain,
Brooding night and day —
Ah me! ah me! —
Tossing rest away.

4.

As the coy marsh-flower
Chosen here and there,
So the graceful lass;
He in tune with her.

¹ For the rise of the Chau Dynasty and its great rulers Wan and Wu see the Shu King, Part V, also the introduction to the Yi King.

² *Ait* means "a little island."

5.

As the coy marsh-flower
 Gathered here and there,
 So the graceful lass;
 Bells now ring for her.

SONG ONE (SECOND TRANSLATION)

KING WAN'S EPITHALAMIUM³

1.

They sent me to gather the cresses, which lie
 And sway on the stream, as it glances by,
 That a fitting welcome we might provide
 For our prince's modest and virtuous bride.

2.

I heard, as I gathered the cress, from the ait
 The mallard's endearing call to its mate;⁴
 And I said, as I heard it, "Oh, may this prove
 An omen of joy to our master's love!"

³ Although no names are mentioned in this ballad, the Chinese commentators agree that it is a nuptial ode, to celebrate King Wan's marriage with Thae-sze, a lady as renowned for feminine virtue as her husband was for masculine worth. Dr. Legge and the commentators say that the ode is sung by the ladies of the harem in chorus, but the use of the singular makes the poem more dramatic.

Confucius stated his admiration of this poem in these terms: "It is expressive of enjoyment without being licentious, and of anxious longing without excess." Many of the native critics, however, think that anxious longings were beneath the dignity of a man of King Wan's caliber, and say that not he but the lady was kept awake at night by her feelings. It was her desire to fill the king's harem with other virtuous consorts.

⁴ The Chinese commentators would fail in their duty if they omitted to discover a number of allusions in this ode. The birds, whatever they were, are said to be most affectionate and yet undemonstrative in their manner. This is what wise husbands and wives should be. Others find allusions to the soft and delicate nature of the young lady in the mere mention of cresses, which are soft and delicate plants. Liu Yuan says that the great lesson conveyed by the ode is that marriage is one of the "five cardinal relations" among mankind, a fact of which the savage tribes of that time were ignorant. The cry of the mallard has

3.

Long, long for his bride has the prince been yearning,
 With such desire has his heart been burning,
 That his thoughts by day and his dreams by night
 Have had but her as his sole delight.

4.

But a doubt tormented his anxious brain,
 And sleep was banished by aching pain,
 As tossing in fear and distress he lay
 Till the long night watches had passed away.

5.

And now he has won her, this lady fair,
 With her modest mind and her gracious air.
 Let our lutes and our music and feasting show
 The love we to her and our master owe.

— C. ALLEN.

SONG ONE (THIRD TRANSLATION)

1.

Kwan-kwan go the ospreys,
 On the islet in the river.
 The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady:
 For our prince a good mate she.

2.

Here long, there short, is the duckweed,
 To the left, to the right, borne about by the current.
 The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady:
 Waking and sleeping, he sought her.

He sought her and found her not,
 And waking and sleeping he thought about her.

an allusion to King Wan's precepts conveyed to his subjects, and as bells and drums are sonorous instruments, which can be heard at a great distance, so were the sounds of his commands to be heard all over the kingdom.

Long he thought; oh! long and anxiously;
On his side, on his back, he turned, and back again.

3.

Here long, there short, is the duckweed;
On the left, on the right, we gather it,
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady:
With lutes, small and large, let us give her friendly
welcome.

Here long, there short, is the duckweed;
On the left, on the right, we cook and present it.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady:
With bells and drums let us show our delight in her.

— J. LEGGE.

SONG ONE (FOURTH TRANSLATION)

CELEBRATING THE VIRTUE OF KING WAN'S BRIDE

1.

Hark! from the islet in the stream the voice
Of the fish-hawks that o'er their nests rejoice!
From them our thoughts to that young lady go,
Modest and virtuous, loth herself to show.
Where could be found to share our prince's state,
So fair, so virtuous, and so fit a mate?

2.

See how the duckweed's stalks, or short or long,
Sway left and right, as moves the current strong!
So hard it was for him the maid to find!
By day, by night, our prince with constant mind
Sought for her long, but all his search was vain.
Awake, asleep, he ever felt the pain
Of longing thought, as when on restless bed,
Tossing about, one turns his fevered head.

3.

Here long, there short, afloat the duckweed lies;
 But caught at last, we seize the longed-for prize.
 The maiden modest, virtuous, coy, is found;
 Strike every lute, and joyous welcome sound.
 Ours now, the duckweed from the stream we bear,
 And cook to use with other viands rare.
 He has the maiden, modest, virtuous, bright;
 Let bells and drums proclaim our great delight.

— J. LEGGE.

SONG TWO

1.

It is a lovely summer scene,
 And sweet and clear mid foliage green
 Is heard the oriole's song.
 Throughout the vale wherein we dwell
 The hemp and flax are growing well,
 With fibers thick and strong.

2.

Now let me like a faithful spouse
 Contrive to deck my husband's house
 With fabrics that we need.
 I'll shrink not from the useful toil,
 The flax I'll cut, the hemp I'll boil,
 For strong and lasting weed.

3.

And when 'tis done, then leave to roam,
 And see once more my childhood's home
 Shall prove a guerdon meet.
 When clad in robes washed bright and clean
 And linen of the glossiest sheen,
 My parents dear I'll greet.

SONG THREE

THE ABSENT ONE

1.

My heart is oppressed and weary;
The husband I love has gone;
He has gone to some distant country,
And has left me to weep alone.

2.

To gather the blue rush blossoms,
I went through the fields to stray;
But too heartsick to fill my basket,
I cast all the flowers away.

3.

I said I will climb to the hill-top,
To gaze on the distant plain,
That thence I may see returning
My lord and his martial train.⁵

4.

So rough was the ridge and rocky,
So steep was the hill and high,
That my servants had sunk exhausted,
Ere the goal of my hopes was nigh.

⁵ This ballad is assigned to Thai-sze, though there is nothing in the poem itself to show who is the subject of it, but the possession of wine-cups, as well as of horses and servants, proves that the subject of the poem is a lady of rank.

The "mystic wine-cups" consisted of a gilt vase, and a rhinoceros-horn goblet, which took three men to lift. Confucius mentions as one of the advantages of the study of the Classic of Poetry, the knowledge of national history thereby attained.

Liu Yuan says that the husband alluded to in this ballad was Wan, when he was still King Chou Hsin's minister. The country then was in a state of confusion, and Wan had to go abroad to fight, leaving Thai-sze to weep at home.

5.

My horses, their flanks all foam-flecked
 And sweat-stained, were forced to stop;
 And I could not get to the summit
 To gaze from the mountain's top.

6.

I bring forth the mystic wine-cups,
 Libations I duly pour,
 As I cry to the gods, "My husband
 To the arms of his wife restore."

SONG FOUR

THE BANYAN-TREE

1.

The traveler in the South may see
 A large wide-spreading banyan-tree;
 The ivies with a loving hold
 The trunk and drooping limbs enfold;
 Of every danger unafraid
 Beneath the banyan's fostering shade.

2.

Our lady is the banyan-tree
 To all this house. The ivies we.
 Oh, may we never cease to share
 Her watchful and protecting care!
 May joy and dignity attend
 Our queen, our lady, and our friend!

SONG FIVE

THE LOCUSTS

1.

The locusts cluster on the ground,
 In ordered ranks unite;
 And then with one harmonious sound
 They spread their wings for flight.

2.

Oh, may we in the palace see
 As numerous a brood ;
 And may they, as these locusts, be
 One loving brotherhood !

SONG SIX

THE PEACH-TREE⁶

1.

The slender boughs amid,
 By green leaves scarcely hid
 The blossoms on the peach are shining bright ;
 'Tis a lovely sight to see
 Every bough upon the tree,
 Glowing one entire mass of pink and white.

2.

This tender maid of ours,
 Fresh and budding like the flowers,
 A match for them in purity and beauty,
 To-day becomes a bride ;
 A house to rule and guide,
 Fulfilling with due care a matron's duty.

3.

The blossoms on the sprays
 Promise fruit in coming days.
 From this omen may we hopefully divine
 That the husband of her choice
 Shall have reason to rejoice
 In descendants through a long unbroken line.

⁶ I do not see why we should try to twist this piece into being anything more than what it plainly is, some verses made on the occasion of a wedding. The commentators, of course, would not be satisfied with this. They declare that it was written to show the happy state of things in King Wan's time, when youths and maidens got married at the proper season, that is to say, in the spring, "when a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love." That this was feasible was due, they say, to Thai-sze's freedom from jealousy!

SONG SEVEN

THE RABBIT-CATCHER ⁷

1.

He placed the snare, where many runs have met,
Deep in a forest dell.
The pegs with mighty blows he firmly set,
And fixed them sure and well.

2.

So stalwart, strong, and brave was this poor hind —
The King of all the land
No wiser head, no trustier heart, might find
To set at his right hand.

⁷ Ballads of this description have almost invariably a personal application. In this instance Huang Yao or Thai Thien — each of whom rose from being hunters to the position of King Wan's ministers — is the person referred to.

BOOK II.—SONGS OF THE LAND OF SHAO ¹

SONG ONE

THE DOVE IN THE MAGPIE'S NEST ²

1.

The dove, that weak and timid bird,
 Scant wit hath she her nest to build;
 Unlike the pie, whose house well lined
 Within, and strong with labor skilled,
 Might seem a palace. Yet the dove
 Will to herself appropriate
 The magpie's nest, and snug therein
 Dwell in contentment with her mate.

2.

My sweet, thou art the tender dove!
 Hath fate's decree then naught more fair

¹ The State of Shao lay to the westward of Chau, and was in fact "the Far West" of the States that made up the China of ancient times, though the greater part of it was in Shensi. Its ruler was Chi Shih, usually known as Duke of Shao. It is a matter of question whether he was the son of King Wan or not. He was at any rate a faithful follower of King Wan and his family. King Wan's son, King Wu, the first actual king of the Chau Dynasty, invested him with the district of Yen, in which Peking lies; but the duke remained at the Court, and was the trusted minister of King Wu and his successor.

² I have made a very free paraphrase in translating this ballad, but I believe that I have hit on its meaning. Most Chinese commentators say that the poet's object was to laud the virtues of the lady, among which was her "stupidity," which is typified by the clumsiness of the dove, which is unable to build itself a decent nest. Mao Chi Ling asserts that the dove can and does drive the magpie out of its nest in order to occupy it itself. ["Oh what a dem'd savage lamb," says Mr. Mantalini.] But why need we trouble ourselves with such absurdities? Surely the motive of the piece is the same as that of "King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid," "The Lord of Burleigh," and a dozen other pieces. The prince is the magpie, the strong, handsome, skilful bird. The peasant girl is the dove, who does not forcibly rob the magpie of his nest, but by her softness and gentleness persuades him to allow her to occupy it.

For thee than in these barren fields
 A peasant's hut and life to share?
 My lands are wide, my halls are high,
 And steeds and cars obey my call;
 My dove, within my magpie nest,
 Thou shalt be mistress of them all.

SONG TWO

THE WIFE'S SACRIFICE

Through the fields the lady goes,
 Seeking where wild celery grows;
 On the islets in the river,
 On the banks, beneath which quiver
 Waters of some wind-swept pond,
 Through the vales which lie beyond,
 Where the mountain torrents fall.
 Then within the prince's hall,
 Ere the signs of dawn are seen,
 With head erect and solemn mien,
 For the prince's sake she lays
 In the shrine whereat he prays
 All her spoils before the altar.
 Next, with steps that never falter,
 Reverently she leaves, as one
 Who her duty well hath done.

SONG THREE

THE ABSENT HUSBAND³

1.

Cicadas chirp the livelong day,
 I see the locusts leap;
 But while my lord is far away
 What can I do but weep?

³I do not think that we need seek for any other meaning in the ballad than the lament of a wife for her husband's absence, and the anticipation of her joy at his return. Most of the commentators, how-

Let me but see him once again,
 Oh, let us meet once more!
 My bosom would be free from pain,
 My heart no longer sore.

2.

I climb the lofty southern hill
 The shoots of fern to find.
 But mournful thoughts my memory fill,
 Oppressing heart and mind.
 But if my absent lord were here,
 That we might never part,
 What blissful rapturous thoughts would cheer
 My aching weary heart.

3.

I climb the rocky southern height,
 Where ferns and herbs I cull.
 My lord is banished from my sight,
 My heart with pain is dull.
 Oh, how I'd welcome the relief
 His presence would afford!
 And I'd forget my woe and grief
 As I embraced my lord.

SONG FOUR

THE MAIDEN'S OFFERING

1.

She runs along beside the rill,
 To pluck the cresses growing;
 Or where the summer rain-floods fill
 The pools to overflowing.

ever, insist that the lady who is the subject of the poem had been taken on approval, according to the custom of those days. She is supposed to be in a state of dire suspense, not being sure whether her husband will keep her as his wife, or will send her back to her parents. Her anxiety is that she may not have done anything to make her husband angry with her.

2.

With green leaves which the maid has got
 She has her baskets piled,
 And placed in the most holy spot
 In vessels undefiled.

3.

She boils them with the reverent care
 For which such duties call,
 Then lays them as an offering fair
 Within the ancestral hall.

4.

I would be told the lady's name,
 So wise is she, so sage.
 'Tis no one but this little dame
 Of some ten years of age.

SONG FIVE

THE PEAR-TREE ⁴

The pear-tree, woodman spare,
 Touch not a single bough;
 Shao's chief once rested there,⁵
 Leave it uninjured now.

SONG SIX

THE TRIAL ⁶

They led the maiden forth, and bade her tell
 The duke her reasons for this insolence.

⁴ "*Sneer*.—'Mr. Puff, haven't I heard something very like that before?'"

⁵ Shao's chief is, of course, Duke Shao. Some say that he, like the prophetess Deborah, sat beneath the pear-tree to hear cases and judge the people; but the accepted theory is that the pear-tree grew at some place where he rested on one of his official journeys.

⁶ Commentators, Chinese and European, agree that this piece represents what took place at a trial before Duke Shao. A man wishes to

"Oh, sir," she cried, "suppose that I were decked
 In clean white robes about to walk abroad
 In woodland paths ere yet the sun was high,
 Would'st thou not say, 'The dews will smirch thy dress' ?
 Then shall I hold my maiden fame less dear,
 Nor strive to guard it from all stain or spot ?
 This man, who now parades his innocence,
 And vows this trial is no fault of his,
 Is like the sparrow which I lately caught
 Boring a hole, and spoiling all my thatch.
 Could it have spoken, doubtless 'twould have pled,
 'I am nothing but a little harmless bird ;
 No horn have I to bore through solid roofs.'
 It may be so, but yet my thatch is spoilt.
 Or like the rat, which in like manner pleads
 'What teeth have I to gnaw through solid walls ?'
 It may be so, but yet my walls are pierced.
 But though he forces me to bear this shame,
 And hales me forth before your Grace's court,
 To his proposals I will ne'er consent :
 A marriage to this man contents me not.
 I will not yield myself to his desire."

SONG SEVEN

THE GRANDEES ⁷

The grandees from the court I chanced to meet,
 Serene they seemed, and grave, and self-possessed,
 As each retired his morning meal to eat,
 In plain white lambskins or white sheepskins dressed.

marry a maiden. She rejects him, and so he brings the case before the duke's tribunal. She pleads that she is not to blame, and refuses to have anything to do with the man. Most Chinese say that her reason for rejecting her suitor was that the betrothal ceremonies were insufficient, and that until these were completed she would not marry him. They praise her for her adherence to rule and order, and go on to say that this admirable state of things was due to the good government of Duke Shao and King Wan.

⁷ It is said that the special virtue of the above-named grandees, the

SONG EIGHT

THOUGHTS IN ABSENCE

1.

My noble husband has gone away
 To fight for his king, and the country's weal.
 No moment he snatches to rest or stay,
 No toil nor danger can quench his zeal.

2.

I list to the distant thunder's roar
 To the south of the mountains across the plain;
 And wish that my husband may come once more
 To gladden his home and his wife again.

SONG NINE⁸

1.

The plums are ripening quickly;
 Nay, some are falling too;
 'Tis surely time for suitors
 To come to me and woo.

officers of Duke Shao's court, was their absence of pretense. Sheepskins and lambskins are inexpensive furs.

This ballad, like "The Pear-Tree" and many others, consists in the original of three stanzas. Each stanza conveys the same idea, with the slightest possible alteration of expression or arrangement. The celebrated hymn of the parish clerk,

"Why hop ye so, ye little hills?
 Ye hills why do ye hop?
 Is it because you're glad to see
 His Grace the Lord Bishop?
 Why skip ye so, ye little hills?
 Ye hills, why do ye skip?
 Is it because you're glad to see
 His Grace the Lord Bishop?"

is really a closer parallel to the structure of such pieces as this than any more seriously written poem can be.

⁸ This arch little song is far too simple for the Chinese commentators to accept as it stands. They all declare that it celebrates the desire of a young lady to be married at the proper time and in the proper way, and without being subjected to any attempt to marry her against

2.

See, more and more are falling
 From off the parent tree.
 Why don't the men come forward
 To win a maid like me?

3.

At length upon the plum-tree
 No fruit can be espied,
 Yet no one comes to court me,
 Or bid me be his bride.

SONG TEN

AN ASSIGNATION⁹

Some may love, not fearing shame,
 But my lot is scarce the same.
 I must go when stars are brightly
 Twinkling in the Eastern sky,
 Tripping swiftly, treading lightly,
 To escape each envious eye.

her will, as happened to the young lady of "The Trial." Liu Yuan admits, however, that some scholars shake their heads over this far-fetched theory. There is a good suggestion by one of the Imperial editors that Chou Hsin had treated his subjects with such cruelty that most respectable young men were in exile or in hiding. Hence maidens were left longing with no one to marry them.

⁹ There is nothing in the poem itself to show that the meeting therein described was anything but an ordinary unlawful assignation. The Chinese commentators, however, take a very different view of it. They make the subject plural, and say that the persons meant are the concubines of the prince, who were only allowed to visit their master for an hour or so during the night, and had to retire before daylight. On these occasions they had to bring with them their own blankets and bedclothes. It was only the princess—the wife—as distinguished from the concubines, who might remain with her husband all night.

Each of the two stanzas in the original finish with four Chinese characters meaning "Our lot is not the same," which the commentators amplify into "Our lot is not the same as that of our mistress the princess, and we acknowledge it with thankful submission." This is, of course, followed by the praise of King Wan, who brought about so desirable a state of things.

Save the Pleiades above,
 And Orion throned on high,
 None may see or know our love.
 'Neath the covering I supply
 Pass the hours in dalliance sweet;
 But ere morning comes I fly,
 Lest by an ill chance I meet
 Some reproachful enemy.
 For my love must rest concealed,
 To no mortal eye revealed.

SONG ELEVEN

The mighty Yang-tze with resistless force
 Takes through the kingdom its majestic course;
 Thence slips aside some smaller stream, as fain
 To find its own way downward to the main.
 But while the rebellious river blindly dreams,
 Some islet, which above dispersed the streams,
 Comes to an end; the pair, apart before,
 Unite again, to sunder nevermore.

So with this lady. Once it chanced that she
 Longed from old friends and friendships to be free;
 She would not see our faces, nor allow
 Our presence near her; but her folly now
 And jealousy have yielded. Mirth and song
 Replace the envious thoughts she cherished long.

BOOK X.—SONGS OF THE LAND OF THANG¹

SONG ONE

MERRY AND WISE²

1.

Our work is finished for the year;
 Our carts may idle stand.
 The cricket on the hearth we hear,
 For winter is at hand.
 Now is the time for sportive fun,
 For frolic and enjoyments,
 Before the days and months bring on
 Fresh labors and employments.

2.

Though mirth and merriment bear sway,
 We feast as wise men should,
 Lest in the wine-cups of to-day
 We drown to-morrow's good.

¹ Thang is the country of the Great Yao, the mythical, or semi-mythical, emperor, who is said to have ascended the throne of China 2357 B.C. In 1106 B.C. King Ch'eng of the Chau Dynasty invested his brother Shu Yu with the government of this State. Shu Yu's son changed its name to Chin, from the name of a river within its southern boundaries. It absorbed the neighboring fief of Wei and became one of the most important feudal States in the kingdom. It is accurate enough for all practical purposes to say that Chin is conterminous with the modern province of Shansi. This book retains the names of poems collected in Thang, probably, as Dr. Legge suggests, because of the Chinese fondness for ancient legends and traditions.

² This poem, it is said, was written with the design of encouraging the people to keep up the "good old" simple customs, which had come down from the time of Yao. Of course the commentators are not satisfied with anything so simple. It was written, according to the Preface, out of pity for the Marquis Hsi (839-822 B.C.), who was too stingy to enjoy himself properly.

'Tis right, as evils may arise,
 To be serene and quiet,
 For men of sense and worth despise
 All mad excess and riot.

SONG TWO

1.

Mountains are yours, within whose forests grow
 The elm, the ailanthus, and the varnish tree.³
 And in your marshlands lying wet and low
 Wild cherries, white elms, chestnut shrubs we see.

2.

Great store you have of trailing robes and long,
 Which lie and molder useless and unworn.
 Your cars are handsome, and your coursers strong,
 And yet along the streets you ne'er are borne.

3.

Courtyards adorn the mansion where you dwell,
 And halls, where no one comes the dust to sweep,
 With many a drum and sweetly ringing bell,
 Which ever mute and voiceless lie asleep.

4.

Why stint and spare? — for surely it were best
 With wine and dainties to prolong the day;
 To cheer the hours and give to mirth a zest;
 So take your lute and sing a merry lay.

5.

Think — all destroying death comes creeping near,
 When our most cherished goods, our hoarded stores,

³ Each stanza in the original begins with two lines containing the mention of these trees growing on the mountains and in the marshes. The lines seem only "a burden" conveying little or no meaning. Liu Yuan observes that Confucius places this poem next the one immediately

Shall be the stranger's, who shall take our gear,
 Shall spend our riches, and shall tread our floors.

SONG THREE

THE CONSPIRATORS⁴

1.

As o'er the fretted waters of the stream
 Some tall white rock above the waves may gleam;
 So mid the crowd of faithful followers here
 We see your majesty and splendor beam.

2.

Take this silk robe, by monarchs only worn,
 Which collar and embroideries red adorn;
 Thus we invest you. Be our lord and king,
 And let us be your loyal subjects sworn.

3.

What care we now? We fear no grief nor woe;
 Lead us, we follow. We would face the foe,
 Prompt to obey the lightest order given,
 Nor think that others shall our secrets know.

before it, in order to point out the happy mean. It is right and wise to be moderate in enjoyment, but it is wrong and foolish to abstain altogether from recreation.

⁴ This poem no doubt refers to the rebellion of Huan Shu against his nephew, the Marquis Ch'ao, 744-738 B.C. Shortly after his accession to the position of feudal prince, the marquis invested his uncle with the government of the city of Ch'u Yu, where the latter grew to be more powerful and influential than his nephew, whose yoke he endeavored to throw off. A civil war, which lasted sixty-seven years, ensued, at the end of which time Huan Shu's grandson had succeeded in having his right to the marquisate acknowledged.

Dr. Legge makes the speakers in the poem the conspirators, but the person to whom they speak is only Huan Shu's messenger, not Huan Shu himself. The inspiring sight of their leader is put in the conditional future—"When we shall have seen our princely lord, shall we not rejoice?"

SONG FOUR

A GOOD TREE

'Tis a noble spreading tree;
 Far and wide extend its shoots,
 Covered thick with clustered fruits.
 Such is he;
 He, the man we celebrate,
 Peerless, generous, and great.

SONG FIVE

LOVERS MEETING

1.

Cut down the grass and thorns, and tie
 The bundles with a hempen band.
 Orion climbs the southern sky,
 To tell us winter is at hand.

2.

On winter evenings lovers meet.
 " A noble suitor, mine," she cries.
 " Where will you find a girl so sweet,
 So fair as you are?" he replies.

SONG SIX

ALONE IN THE WORLD⁵

1.

The pear-tree's leaves are thick and strong.
 Beneath its shade I pass along
 Unnoticed by the busy throng.

⁵ This poem is said to picture the desolation of Marquis Ch'ao, when his friends and followers deserted him to join Huan Shu. It is said that the pear-tree is mentioned, that its condition, covered thick with leaves, may be contrasted with the distress of the wanderer, who had not a friend near him.

2.

Ye travelers, to you I cry
 For kindly aid and sympathy.
 Unheeding still ye pass me by.

3.

In vain. Your help I may not claim.
 Strangers ye are, and not the same
 As those who bear my father's name.

SONG SEVEN

LOYALTY TRIED HARD

Oh mighty prince, with robe of fur and leopard cuffs be-
 decked,
 Why treat your humble vassals with unkindness and neglect?
 Can we find no other master? Yes, but 'tis a bitter thing
 To break old ties, forget old loves, and serve another king.

SONG EIGHT

ANXIETY FOR THE ABSENT ONES

1.

Listen, in the grove I hear
 Sounds of many a rustling wing.
 'Tis the wild geese, who appear
 As the harbingers of spring.

2.

Warmer weather is at hand.
 By their coming here they warn
 Husbandmen to sow their land;
 Plant their millet, rice, and corn.

3.

I may neither plant nor sow,
 Nor prepare the year's supply.
 And for all that I can do,
 Those at home may starve and die.

4.

For the men who serve the king,
 By their weight of work opprest,
 May not cease from laboring,
 Must not snatch a moment's rest.

5.

Powers of the azure heights, may we,
 Blest by you, return again
 To our hearths and homes, to be
 Men among our fellow-men.

SONG NINE

CLOTHES OR ROBES⁶

I have no clothes at all, you declare!
 You are wrong; I have plenty, you see.
 They may not be so rich or so rare
 As your own, but they're excellent wear,
 And warm, and do nicely for me.

⁶ This is a corrupt fragment of text, consisting in the Chinese version of two short stanzas which, literally translated, run as follows: Stanza 1, "How do you say there are no clothes (or robes)? There are seven. Not equal to yours but quiet and auspicious." Stanza 2, "How do you say there are no clothes (or robes)? There are six. Not equal to yours, but quiet and durable wear." Still, all the commentators translate *Yi* as "robes," and explain the piece as follows: The civil war in Chin was finished 678 B.C. by the success of Duke Wu. He appealed to King Hsi to confirm him in his position, to which request the king, influenced, it is said, by bribery, consented, and appointed him Marquis of Chin. The poem, therefore, is the appeal of Wu's followers that their master should be supported by the king's authority, and is supposed to be addressed to the royal envoy. Put into verse in this sense, it would run thus:

Say you, he does not possess
 Symbols of authority,
 Robes of State? I tell you, yes,
 Seven robes of State has he.
 But should our great king bestow
 Such gifts on him at your hand,
 All the realm would see and know
 And obey his high command.

SONG TEN

1.

On the left-hand side of the pathway
 A pear-tree stands all alone.
 Where the road forms a sudden angle,
 Is the shade of its branches thrown.

2.

Would he come to me there, the sweetheart
 I love to my heart's mid core,
 We would travel the road together,
 And never be parted more.

3.

But, alas! I am poor and friendless;
 No coin in the world have I.
 And my larder is bare and empty,
 And my cellar has quite run dry.

SONG ELEVEN

THE WIDOW

1.

The trailing creepers shroud the thorns in gloom,
 The wild vines spreading o'er the wasted plains
 But mock my sorrow, for they hide the tomb
 Which holds my lord's remains.

2.

My husband. Oh, the night when first we met,
 My head lay on the pillow at his side.
 They threw the splendid brodered coverlet
 O'er bridegroom and his bride.

3.

By me must now long days of summer heat,
 Long winter nights, in loneliness be passed.
 But though I live a hundred years, we'll meet
 Within the grave at last.

SONG TWELVE

BEWARE SLANDER

Should some one bid you climb and seek
 On Shou Yang's topmost peak ⁷
 For liquorice shoots, and say, "Below
 You'll find the mustard grow."
 You'd laugh and tell him you despise
 Such foolish, childish lies.

To every story which you hear
 Give no assenting ear.
 Nor list to each malicious lie,
 But coldly pass it by.
 Thus every cruel, slanderous tale
 Will prove of no avail.

⁷ Shou Yang is a mountain in Shansi, on which no sane person would expect to find the *Ling*, liquorice plant, *Ku*, sow-thistle, or *Feng*, mustard, all of which are marsh-plants.

Duke Hsien is supposed to be the person warned not to listen to slander. I know no reason why this should be, or should not be, the fact.

THE SHIH KING

PART II

SONGS FOR THE LESSER FESTIVALS

SONG ONE

A FESTAL SONG¹

1.

As we sit down to feast, from the meadow hard by,
Hark! the stags as they browse call a musical cry.
We have music as well. Let no organ be mute;
Let us gladden our hearts with the sound of the lute.

2.

Now hand round the dainties to each honored guest;
The friends who love me, and the friends I love best.
They are models and patterns to all, for they show
The respect we should feel for the humble and low.

3.

Bid the music begin, and the lutes great and small
Be struck till their sweet notes resound through the hall.
And pour out the wine — it is plentiful here.
Thus all the day long we'll enjoy the good cheer.

SONG TWO

THE ROYAL BEHEST²

1.

My white steeds gallop along the way.
Small leisure have I to stop or rest.

¹ This song is supposed to be appropriate to an entertainment given by the king to his ministers. It is interesting to remark that at the dinners given to the successful candidates at the provincial examinations by the governor of the province, this song is still sung in honor of the guests. It is also sometimes sung at the Imperial banquets given at the palace to those who have taken the *Hanlin* or "highest degree."

² How this can be a song for a festival is rather a puzzle. The com-

My coursers pant; there is no delay
 For him who speeds on the king's behest.

2.

The dove may flutter from tree to tree,
 Or 'light on the boughs and refuse to roam.
 Ah, happy bird! you are unlike me,
 Whom duty has driven away from home.

3.

Oh, home of my father and mother dear,
 Would I might there for their wants provide.
 Let me sing to myself my heart to cheer,
 For I sorrow and long to be by their side.

SONG THREE

THE KING'S MESSENGER³

Brilliant and bright the blossoms glow
 On the level heights and the marshlands low.

The royal messenger am I.
 At the king's command I can swiftly fly.

Equipped with all that a man may need,
 Alert, determined to succeed.

mentators, however, say that it was sung at a complimentary dinner given by the king on the return of an officer who had been sent on such an expedition as is mentioned in the ballad.

Dr. Legge says that the piece celebrates the union in the officer of loyal duty and filial feeling. One can not help noticing that his filial feeling was a good deal stronger than his devotion to duty. He evidently only went on service because he was obliged to do so, and grumbled a good deal at having to go, as seems to have been the custom of the soldier of the period.

³ This piece is akin to the last. Its place among the songs of the festival is, say the Chinese, because it would be sung at a royal banquet given to a messenger about to start on such an expedition. What his mission was is not clearly stated. The commentators for the most part assert that he was going in search of "methods of good government." Perhaps this is only the same as saying that the king's messenger was a commissioner sent to see how the feudal States were faring, and whether they had any grievances calling for redress.

Three teams of horses, young and strong,
I have, to whirl my car along.

My steeds are white, or gray, or pied;
Well skilled am I each team to guide.

We gallop till the sweat-flakes stain
With large wet spots each glossy rein.

Each man I meet without delay
Must tell me all he has to say.

The realm I traverse till I bring
The counsel sought for by the king.

SONG FOUR

“LET BROTHERLY LOVE CONTINUE”⁴

1.

The masses of cherry blossom
Are gleaming — a gorgeous show.
And the wagtail upon the hillside
Is hurrying to and fro.

2.

There are no men equal to brothers.
When troubles and cares invade,
Friends sigh to show their compassion,
But offer no further aid.

3.

In the dreaded moments of mourning
Your brothers will share your pain;
Should you fly from your home an outcast,
Will bring you back safe again.

⁴This piece is assigned to Duke Chau, who is said to have composed it after he had executed “Roman” justice on his own rebellious brothers.

4.

Though quarrels within the household
 Arise to disturb our peace;
 Let insult from outside threaten,
 We unite, and all discords cease.

5.

In the days of rest and enjoyment —
 With disorder and death at end —
 Though fools deny it, a brother
 Surpasses the dearest friend.

6.

Your board may be spread with dainties,
 Your goblets with wine be crowned,
 Yet 'tis only with brothers present
 That lasting delight is found.

7.

The union of wife and children
 Is music made by the lute.
 Be the concord of brothers added,
 This music shall ne'er be mute.

8.

Rejoice in your well-ruled household,
 Your wife and your children too;
 But neglect not the counsel proffered:
 You will find that my words are true.

SONG FIVE

THE FEAST ⁵

1.

The woodmen on the hill
 Hew down the pine-trees tall.

⁵ The feast is supposed to be given by the king to his loving ministers. I confess my inability to detect anything descriptive of royal state in the original version of this poem. A king who looks to the sweeping

Hark! how their blows resound and ring,
As ax and hatchet fall.

2.

A bird comes from the vale;
To some high tree she flies,
And perched upon the top she calls
Her mate with loving cries.

3.

She sings to call her mate,
This bird upon the tree.
'Twere shame if I, a man, should fail
To call my friends to me.

4.

The gods in heaven above,
They say, will hear his prayers,
And grant him harmony and peace,
Who never stints or spares.

5.

My wine is strained and clear;
My fatted lambs are slain;
My yard is swept, my table set
With viands, meat, and grain.

6.

That something should detain
Friends whom the host invites,
Were better than that they should feel
Themselves exposed to slights.

of his courtyard, and hints at the possibility of running short of wine and having to buy more, seems to want a little the dignity of a monarch. The guests are mentioned as paternal and maternal uncles. It is said that the appellation "paternal uncles" means nobles of the same surname as the king, and that of "maternal uncles" those of a different surname. We may understand the terms as simply a friendly or affectionate style of address to the guests.

7.

When victuals hard and coarse
 Are set before a guest,
 Bad feeling is aroused. This blame
 On me shall never rest.

8.

My friends are here; the board
 Is spread. If cups run dry,
 And all my casks are drained, why then
 I'll buy a fresh supply.

9.

Nor let the host despise
 The dance nor music's strain.
 While leisure hours are granted us
 The sparkling wine we'll drain.

SONG SIX

THE RESPONSE OF THE GUESTS^a

May the powers above still keep thee in virtue, and joy and
 peace,
 And safe from the fear of ill, and glad in thy land's increase.
 Then each act thou doest is well, for thou hast the blessing
 of heaven,
 And the days are too short for thee to enjoy all the favors
 given.
 As long as the mountain masses, whose bases are planted sure,
 Shall lift their summits skyward, so long shall thy fame
 endure.

^a This poem no doubt represents a song sung by the guests at a royal feast to express their gratitude, and their loyal devotion to their king. There is great dignity in the original version.

"Each season." In the Chinese version the sacrifices offered to the spirits of the royal dead in the ancestral temple at each of the four seasons are named by their distinguishing names. Such rites are constantly mentioned and referred to in the poems of this and of the following parts of the Classic.

The stream grows wider and deeper, the farther it has to flow,
And wider and deeper each day shall thy prosperity grow.
Auspicious and pure are the dues, which thy filial love would

pay,

Each season, to dukes of yore and kings of a former day.
Their spirits appear and say, "When myriads of years have

past,

Thy descendants shall never fail, but the royal line shall last.
Thy simple and honest folk shall not want for plenty to eat,
And thankfully day by day shall enjoy their drink and their
meat.

As far as the black-haired race shall scatter its clans through
the earth,

So far shall they learn thy deeds, and copy thy virtue and
worth."

May the fame of the royal house shine out to the world as
bright

As the moon when she waxes full, as the sun when he climbs
the height;

Be as fixed as the southern hills, as green as the cypress-tree
And the fir, which fade not in winter. Such, such may thy
glory be.

SONG SEVEN

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE HUNS⁷

1.

A soldier speaks:

'Tis spring; the fern shoots now appear,

For us to pluck them on the lea.

'Twill be the last month of the year

Ere we may hope our home to see.

⁷To call this a "Song of the Festival" seems to misname it, unless indeed we are to take it for granted that at the royal banquets patriotic songs were sung. In the Chinese version there are six stanzas, which I have translated stanza by stanza. I have, however, moved the last one from its place, and have made it No. 4. These first four I have made the speech of a soldier, whose only thought seems to be the misery of his position. In stanzas 5 and 6 he is answered by a cheerful com-

Husband and wife apart must weep
 Until the course of war has run.
 No time is given for rest or sleep
 To those who have to fight the Hun.

2.

'Tis summer time; the ferns we cull
 Are soft and tender — stalk and leaf —
 But, ah! each heart is sorrowful
 With homesick longings, pain and grief.
 Soldiers who watch the foe must bear
 The pangs of thirst and hunger's sting,
 Nor know they how their loved ones fare,
 For none may go the news to bring.

3.

'Tis autumn; and the stalks of fern
 Are grown too hard and dry to eat;
 The year must end ere we return
 Our families and homes to greet.
 We dare not snatch one moment's rest.
 The sole reward for all our pain
 And labor at the king's behest
 Is ne'er to see our homes again.

4.

When we from home were forced to go,
 The willow boughs were fresh and green.
 When we return, the flakes of snow
 In blinding drifts will hide the scene.
 Tedious and weary is our road;
 Hunger and thirst our souls depress.

rade, who bids him keep up his spirits and do his duty like a man. I have, however, no authority but my own for this treatment of the poem.

The Huns are the Hsien Yun, the wild tribes of the north. As these gave a good deal of trouble in the reign of King I, 934-910 B.C., this piece is by some referred to his time; but most say that it, together with the two next pieces, is the composition of Duke Chau to celebrate the deeds of King Wan during the Shang Dynasty.

Alas! we bear a heavy load,
 Yet no man cares for our distress.

5.

Another soldier speaks:

Cheer up; the flowers are gleaming white,
 The blossoms on the cherry spray.
 And see a yet more glorious sight,
 Our leader's car upon its way,
 Drawn by four steeds, a stalwart span.
 Dare we remain inactive, slow?
 In one month, if we play the man,
 Three times shall we defeat the foe.

6.

His eager steeds pass swiftly by;
 Like birds upon the wing they speed.
 Let us then on our chief rely;
 He will not fail in time of need.
 'Tis his to hold the ivory bow,
 The sealskin sheath which leaders bear.
 And ours to watch the restless foe,
 For fear they take us unaware.

SONG EIGHT

THE VICTORIES OVER THE HUNS

1.

A soldier speaks:

The king, the mighty son of heaven,
 Has to our chief the order given
 To march with flags and banners flying
 To regions on the frontiers lying,
 Where dwells the unruly Hun.
 To build a wall and fortress there,
 That these marauders may not dare
 Our realm to overrun.

2.

Nan Chung, our noble chieftain, bade
 His henchman come. "The king has laid
 A heavy task on us," said he,
 "But you must share the toil with me.
 See how the royal tablets stand
 Engraven with the king's command.
 Use all dispatch, prepare each car
 With what is needed for the war."

3.

In countless hordes we gained the ground
 Beyond the city's farthest bound.
 The falcon banner shone on high;
 'Twas grand to see it flap and fly.
 And flags, which snake and tortoise bear
 Upon their silk, were floating there,
 With dragon pennons gleaming bright,
 And staves with yak-tail streamers dight,
 In sooth it was a splendid sight.
 With such an awe-inspiring chief
 To lead us to the fray,
 The foe's resistance must be brief
 Ere they are swept away.

4.

The millet flowers were blooming bright
 When first we started to the fight.
 The blinding flakes are falling now,
 And hard it is our way to plow
 Across the heavy, miry plain,
 Which leads us to our homes again.
 We longed through many a weary day
 For time to sleep and rest.
 But who would dare to disobey
 Or slight the king's behest?

5.

The soldiers' wives say:

The days are growing warm and long;
 We hear the oriole's plaintive song.
 The foliage now is green and thick;
 The wild white celery we pick.
 The grasshopper goes leaping by;
 Cicadas chirp their shrill, sharp cry.
 Such pleasing sights and sounds of spring
 Should give our hearts relief,
 But till our husbands come, they bring
 No solace to our grief.

6.

Where Nanchung and his soldiers smite
 The western rebels must they fight.
 Soon by this mighty chief the brood
 Of Huns shall be o'ercome, subdued.
 Then will our men return again,
 With crowds of captives in their train,
 And rebel chiefs, who have to bear
 The tortures stern, which lie
 In wait for wicked men, who dare
 Their rulers to defy.

SONG NINE

THE SOLDIER'S RETURN *

1.

The russet pear-tree stands, its boughs borne down
 With pears that grow amid its foliage thick.
 We climb the hills to northward of the town
 The medlar fruit to pick.

2.

'Tis the tenth month, the month that ends the year.
 Sadly and slowly day succeeds to-day.

* This piece is no doubt the sequel of the two preceding poems.

And yet my husband may not join me here;
 He must remain away.

3.

The king's command has passed, a word which none
 May dare to slight, although oppressed with woe
 Women may weep, and for an absent son
 A parent's tears may flow.

4.

Surely by this his horses must be worn
 And lamed and starved in journeying so far.
 The planks of sandal-wood are broke and torn —
 The boards which framed his car.

5.

From the divining jar the reeds I choose;
 And next the tortoise-shell with fire I brand.
 Oh, joy! Both omens bring the happy news,
 My husband is at hand.

KING HSUAN'S FLOCKS AND HERDS⁹

1.

If any one says that your sheep are few,
 He lies, for your sheep we see.
 In flocks of three hundred, all horned but tame,
 They are grazing about the lea.

⁹This ballad is supposed to describe King Hsuan's prosperity. His prosperity infers his good government and his virtue. The chief point of interest in the poem is this: it is the only piece in the whole collection which describes and sings the praise of pastoral life as opposed to agricultural. Now, the members of the Aryan race, before their dispersion — hunters and fishermen at first — became acquainted with pastoral pursuits before agricultural. Among them the chief shepherd was practically king. The Chinese have always regarded the science of agriculture with respect, considering the care of flocks and herds a business only fit for nomad tribes, such as the Mongolians of the present day. In fact many persons believe the term *Li Min* to be "the agricultural people" rather than "the black-haired race," as it is usually translated. They say that plowing and sowing form a far more distinct characteristic of the Chinese than the blackness of the hair, for the aboriginal tribes in and around the Empire, and the natives of the

2.

And your cattle are ninety in every herd,
 Strong, black-lipped brutes. From the hills
 Come droves of thirty, flapping their ears,
 To drink at the pools and rills.

3.

As they lie on the meadows, or roam the fields,
 When the pasture is rich and fat,
 Your herdsmen watch them in rain-coats clad,
 Each wearing his bamboo hat.

4.

They bear their rations upon their backs,
 The birds and the beasts they snare.
 They collect the faggots and twigs to roast
 The game, and a meal they share.

5.

Your sheep by infectious ills untouched,
 All vigorous, strong, and bold,
 By a single wave of the shepherd's arm
 Are driven within the fold.

6.

Your herdsman shall dream at night of fish
 In countless shoals in the streams.
 Of pennons flying, and falcon flags.—
 Let the soothsayers solve their dreams.

neighboring countries, are all black-haired, but honor paid to agriculture is confined to pure Chinese alone. We conclude, then, that this ballad either describes a state of things which existed long before the time of King Hsuan, or else that even in his time the care of flocks and herds was looked on as a matter not unworthy of a king's attention. Liu Yuan says as much, pointing out that in King Hsuan's days there were officials in charge of sheep, oxen, dogs, and fowls. Swine alone were not cared for.

The student of Chinese will find a good many rare characters and doubtful expressions in this ballad. *Shun* is defined as "a yellow ox, seven cubits high, with black lips"; *Shih Shih* is literally "damp." Here it is understood to mean "flapping the ears" of the cattle, and so on.

7.

The shoals of the fish denote a time
 Of prosperity never ceasing;
 And the flags that the folk of our monarch's realm
 Are flourishing and increasing.

A MULTITUDE OF COUNSELORS, BUT NO WISDOM¹⁰

1.

Heaven, that was once compassionate,
 Is wrathful now. Its anger lowers
 Above this wicked world of ours.
 For oh, the king will not abate
 His purposes for ill designed.
 Why loves he crooked ways to choose,
 And better counsels to refuse?
 Distressed am I in heart, in mind.

2.

"His creatures cordially agree,"
 You say. Nay, rather they defame
 Each other's good repute and name
 Behind his back; ah, woe is me.
 The better course they all reject.
 Should you suggest some evil plan,
 They all approve it, every man.
 What good can acts like this effect?

¹⁰ The poem is assigned to the time of King Yu, and the author is supposed to be one of the officers of the court. It should be noted that the motive of the piece is disgust at the king's readiness to listen to any one, wise or foolish. When, in the course of time, it is proposed to introduce popular government into China, this piece will certainly be quoted as an argument against it. As I read it, I can not help being reminded of some of the lines in "Locksley Hall: Sixty Years After." Rough as the Chinese verses, and my translation of them are, there are thoughts in them akin to those expressed by Lord Tennyson. For instance:

"Upon the court they pile a load
 Of speech, but not a deed is done."

Is not this the Chinese parallel of:

"Babble, babble; our old England may go down in babble at last"?

3.

The omens now are mute and dead,
Discerned once from the tortoise-shell.
Counselors many midst us dwell,
Yet nothing is accomplished.
Upon the court they pile a load
Of speech, yet not a deed is done.
A man may prate of going on,
Nor take one step along the road.

4.

Oh, choose, ye rulers of the State,
For patterns men of yore, who thought
All shallow trifles less than naught,
Whose principles were calm and great.
You build a house beside the way,
In vain to finish it you try,
For all the travelers passing by
Derange your plans by what they say.

5.

Although our people may be few,
Our land disturbed, yet we may find
Some men of grave, well-ordered mind;
And sages 'midst the foolish crew.
But wise and foolish, one and all
Shall be alike destroyed, undone,
And fast as flowing waters run,
To wrath and ruin must we fall.

6.

Who ventures weaponless to meet
A tiger, or without a boat
Across a dangerous stream to float?
None dares the vain, foolhardy feat.
E'en fools this piece of wisdom know,
When passing near a precipice,
Or crossing thin, fresh frozen ice,
'Tis right with cautious steps to go.

FRATERNAL ADVICE ¹¹

The dawn is breaking. From my watchful brain
 All sleep is banished by this aching pain.
 I see a little dove, whose cooing cry
 Is wafted to me from the azure sky.
 Would I had wings like hers, away to fly;
 Or, rather, would that I were laid to rest,
 As are my parents, in earth's quiet breast.
 Yet listen to these warning words, nor spurn
 My lessons, which 'tis meet that you should learn.

Be sober. Men of worth some cups may drain,
 And yet their sense and dignity remain.
 A fool will deeply drink and misbehave,
 Becoming more and more his goblet's slave.
 Preserve your self-respect, for gifts once given,
 If lost, are ne'er bestowed afresh by heaven.

Be liberal. Leave some sheaves about the plain
 That hungry folk may come to glean the grain.

Be neighborly. E'en insects can do good
 And show some kindness to a neighbor's brood.
 Your sons by precept and example guide;
 They, too, in paths of virtue will abide.

Be cheerful. Cheerfulness will bring delight.
 We love the wagtail's note; its flickering flight.
 Waste not your time. The hours will never stay,
 Our days, months, years, too swiftly pass away.

OVERWORK ¹²

1.

From the hills where medlars grow, gazing on the plain
 below,

¹¹ This poem is rather obscure. It is supposed to be the advice of an elder brother, telling the younger ones how they should behave themselves now that their parents are no longer on earth to take care of them and times are troublous.

¹² This piece is referred to the time of King Yu, though there are

I said, "Though I am vigorous and brave,
 Yet at home my parents grieve, for from early morn to eve
 With duties overladen I must slave."

2.

All beneath the azure sky to where ocean's borders lie
 Are the king's, and his obedient vassals we.
 But 'tis cruel and unfair that one man should have to bear
 All the labor which is wholly thrown on me.

3.

They say that there are few who are young and hardy, too;
 So as long as youth with hardihood remains,
 I must do the king's behest, and my horses never rest,
 As I traverse all the kingdom where he reigns.

4.

Some lay their lazy heads on the pillows of their beds,
 And loll undisturbed by any sound;
 Whilst others have to go hurry scurry to and fro,
 For to serve the king and country they are bound.

5.

By the wine-cups sitting these enjoy their rest and ease,
 As they pass remarks and coldly criticize
 Those who pass unhappy days, fearing blame instead of
 praise,
 Shall be their only recompense and prize.

commentators who assign it to the time of King Yi, 934 B.C. It seems the complaint of a man, who either has all the work and none of the honor and glory, or who imagines that this is his fate. Some of the Chinese commentators use this poem as a text, and enter into dissertations on the relative obligations of *Chung*, "loyalty," and *Hsiao*, "filial piety." The subject of this poem is so loyal to the king, that he must neglect his own parents. Mencius well observes in reference to this, "How can parents be more highly honored than nourishing them with the whole empire?" Or, in other words, "Loyal service to the country is the highest form of filial affection."

TAKE IT EASY ¹³

1.

Onward a cart you thrust,
 Naught of the way you know.
 Eyes sore, mouth choked, you must
 Go where the cart may go,
 Blinded by dust.

2.

If all your thoughts you bind
 Slaves to anxieties,
 You may distress your mind,
 Fall ill, and yet your eyes
 Still remain blind.

THOUGHTS IN BANISHMENT ¹⁴

1.

Oh, heaven above, whose glorious light on high,
 Illumines and directs the world below!
 Our homes we left, my followers and I,
 Forth to this dreary wilderness to go.

¹³ This may possibly be an answer to the speaker in the last poem. He complains of overwork, and a friend replies, "Take it easy; do not overstrain your strength, and do your work in a sensible manner." Dr. Legge follows Chu Hsi, and heads the poem, "Some officer, overloaded in the king's service, thinks it better to dismiss his troubles from his mind." The explanation in the Preface is very curious: "A great officer expresses his regret at having advanced mean men to employment."

¹⁴ Here is another officer sent away on service, and grumbling over his hard work and absence from home. Liu Yuan's explanation of the piece is as follows: King Li, 878-827 B.C., was a cruel oppressor. Two of his ministers, Duke Chou and Chao (descendants of the two dukes of the same name, who lived in the days when the Chau Dynasty was first established), in order to relieve the people from his oppression, induced him to make an expedition into the country of Chiu. The king remained there fourteen years. According to this explanation, the subject of the poem would be one of the officers who accompanied him. The Preface assigns no time to the piece. It only says that a great officer expresses his regret that he had taken office in a time of disorder.

The second month it was, when blossoms blow;
And since that day both heat and cold have passed,
Yet here our cruel lot continues cast.

2.

The sun and moon had then renewed the year;
But now the months of their course have almost run.
Yet must I stay within this desert drear,
Until the duties laid on me are done;
Many they are to be performed by one.
My heart is sad; from toil I am not free,
No respite, no repose is granted me.

3.

Some work at home, in comfort and in peace,
Lonely I pine. My tears flow down like rain.
When is my weary banishment to cease?
To join my comrades there my heart is fain,
But fears of royal wrath the wish restrain;
For wanton negligence is like a net,
Which for unwary feet the powers have set.

4.

When we went forth the days were growing hot;
Now winter's nigh, for harvest tide is o'er.
Dreaming of home, I mourn my wretched lot.
Each day my labors fret me more and more,
E'en sleep has no relief for me in store.
All night I wake, and wander to and fro,
Longing to leave, and yet afraid to go.

5.

Dear friends, do not assume that quiet will
Endure forever. Duties laid on you
With care and cautious loyalty fulfil.
Let your associates be the good and true.
Love them and treat them with the honor due.
So shall the spirits hear your prayers, and bless
Your lives with measures of bright happiness.

MUSICAL MEMORIES ¹⁵

1.

Oh, the days when my friend was dwelling
 Where the waves of this stream sweep by.
 How can my sorrowful heart forget him? —
 Him with whose virtues none could vie.

2.

Mute are the islets among the waters,
 Where his drums and his bells rang clear;
 While pipes, triangles, and flutes were sounding,
 And sweet old ballads to glad the ear.

THE SACRIFICE AT THE HARVEST THANKSGIVING ¹⁶

1.

The ground was covered with bush and weed,
 Which our ancestors carefully cleared away,

¹⁵ Most of the Chinese commentators say that the subject of the poem, hearing music in the time of King Yu, is reminded of better days and better music in the good old days when the king's ancestors reigned.

¹⁶ This poem is one of the most interesting, suggestive, and graphic pieces in the whole Classic. The Preface says that it is an expression of regret for the good old times of Wan and Wu, and is therefore intended as a hit at King Yu, but there is nothing to show this. Dr. Legge has an excellent suggestion that it was written by one of the guests in compliment to the sacrificer, who was probably the king. A question may be raised whether the sacrifice described in this piece is offered by the king himself, or only by one of the great nobles. Chu Hsi says, that if the sacrifice had been a royal one, this poem would have been placed among "The Greater Songs," and not among "The Lesser Songs"; but it appears to me that the dignity and solemnity attending the sacrifice and the blessings promised are compatible with a royal ceremonial only. Such rites were surely the precursors of the sacrifices offered at the present day by the emperor alone, at the Temple of Heaven and the Temple of Agriculture, at Peking. The idea that the spirits of the deceased could be tempted to descend from the regions of the blest, and occupy temporarily the body of a living being, did not last beyond the Chau Dynasty.

The chief point of interest in this poem is its lucid exposition of the Chinese ideas of intercourse to be held with the souls of the blest

To sow in their places the millet seed
 For a plenteous harvest some future day.
 In luxuriant masses the millet grew,
 And the sacred grain as abundant too,
 Till our barns were full of the precious food,
 And in countless myriads corn-stacks stood.
 We prepared the viands and brewed the wine
 As a sacrificial offering meet
 For the shades of the dead; and a son of their line
 We chose as their proxy. We prayed him eat
 Of the dainties before him, and drink of our best,
 That with glorious fortune we might be blest.

2.

Each man wears a solemn and reverent mien.
 The beasts to be killed must be pure and clean,
 When the annual rites we could celebrate.
 The victims are duly slain and flayed,
 And their meat on dishes is ranged and laid,
 And the priest takes his stand by the temple-gate.
 The offerings set form so bright a show
 As to tempt the Shades to our world below.
 In their awful majesty they descend
 To enjoy the dainties upon the board;
 And their duteous scion shall reap reward
 In bliss, and in life that knows no end.

3.

The furnace is tended with reverent care.
 For the roast and the boiled the men prepare
 The trays, which have to be broad and large.
 Of the smaller dishes our wives take charge.
 And these with portions they quietly fill.—
 At such functions all must be calm and still.

after death. These opinions have still as much weight as ever, and the whole religious system of China is based on them. Buddhism may be laughed at and Taoism derided, and even Confucius himself may be criticized, but woe to the man who does anything to injure or insult the spirits of the dead!

The guests, who have come our feast to share,
 Pass round the wine-cups from hand to hand.
 Not a misplaced smile, not a word is there,
 And each rite is done as the rules demand.
 The spirits come on their soft-winged flight,
 That our days may be many, all glad and bright,
 For our worship of them they will thus requite.

4.

When all the rites have been thoroughly done,
 And the worshipers weary, every one,
 The priest to the king proclaims, " Full well
 Was your duty done, and a fragrant smell
 Your offerings bore to the shades divine,
 Who have deigned to partake of your food and wine.
 And this the reward that they grant to you.

Each wish of your heart you shall surely gain.
 And your efforts to treat them with honor due
 Shall myriads of choicest gifts obtain."

5.

Then the bells are rung and the drums are beat
 As the king retires and takes his seat.
 Says the priest, " The spirits to heart's desire
 Have drunk, let their proxy now retire."
 The music plays as he passes by;
 The spirits return to their home on high.
 Then the ladies and servants without delay
 Remove from the temple each dish and tray.
 For the king's relation must now repair
 To his private room in his feast to share.

6.

And with them the music goes to lend
 At " the second blessing " its soothing aid.
 Upon the tables the feast is laid,
 And all are happy, host, guest, and friend.
 They drink to the full, to the full they eat.
 Then great and small, they bow and repeat:

“Your food and wine may the spirits prize.
 To you long life may they grant, we pray,
 For we know that on each appointed day
 You fail not to offer a sacrifice.
 May your sons and grandsons ne'er forget
 The pious example which you have set.”

SONG OF THE HARVEST¹⁷

1.

Great Yu laid out the swamp and marshy plain
 Around the Southern Hills. By trench and drain
 He made it fertile. I, too, of his line
 A late descendant, into fields define
 The lands, and make the smaller plots thereby.
 Some to the eastward, some to southward lie.

2.

The sky one arch of cloud o'erhead is bending;
 The snow from thence in countless flakes descending.
 To this succeed the drizzling showers of spring,
 To give the soil the proper moistening,
 That having thus received the kindly rain,
 It may produce abundant stores of grain.

¹⁷ We have now before us a song showing the simple manner of life in early days. It seems that during the Chau Dynasty a village community consisted of eight families, who lived on a portion of land shaped like a *tit-tat-to* board, a square made of nine smaller squares. This plot of land was called a *Ching*, or well. The name may have been given to it because the existence of a well determined the position of a village. Each of the eight families had one of the small squares to cultivate as its own, but the central square was the site of the village, and was common property. The crops grown there were apparently the property of the Government. Twenty *mou* were assigned to the sites of the dwelling-houses, and the remainder was cultivated for the benefit of the State. Mencius remarks that each husbandman received 100 *mou*, which would support from five to nine individuals. The ancient *mou* is said to have been 100 square paces, so that 100 *mou* would be very nearly the exact equivalent of two acres.

It is scarcely necessary to point out to the reader that “Great Yu” is the mythical Emperor, who is said to have drained away the great flood, not “by drinking all the water,” but by opening the gorges through which the Yang-tze now runs.

3.

With hedge and fence we guard each plot and field,
 And plenteous crops of grains the millets yield,
 So that our harvest everywhere is good.
 Next of the grain we make both wine and food,
 To feast the spirits and each loving guest.
 So shall we be through countless ages blest.

4.

The peasants' huts lie 'mid these fields of mine.
 Along the hedgerows gourds and melons twine.
 The fruit preserved is cut in many a slice
 To be presented at our sacrifice.
 So to ourselves shall length of life be given,
 And numerous blessings be bestowed by heaven.

5.

We pour pure wine upon the appointed day,
 And, then, as victim, we a red bull slay.
 These to departed Shades an offering make.
 So let the priest the tinkling whittle take,
 To part the hair upon the creature's hide,
 And cut away the caul and fat inside.

6.

Oblations thus we piously present,
 Which all around diffuse a fragrant scent.
 Complete success will now our service crown.
 The spirits come majestically down,
 And their descendant they reward and bless
 With many years of bliss and happiness.

A FAMILY GATHERING ¹⁸

1.

Around thy board in leather caps we sit
 To share thy dainties and thy luscious wine.

¹⁸ Here is another piece, the meaning of which varies according to the interpretation which we give to the words *Chun Tzu*. Dr. Legge

Who are we? Are we strangers? Not a whit!
But cousins, kinsfolk, brethren dear of thine.

2.

We cling to thee, as cling the mistletoe
And moss to pine-boughs and the cypress-tree.
Thou art away — each heart is moved with woe.
Thou art at hand — we laugh in merry glee.

3.

The clouds may form for snow and bitter weather,
And death some day will conquer every man.
But let us feast this night in mirth together,
And all enjoy the banquet while we can.

THE WOODMAN'S BRIDE

1.

Though a mighty mountain may frown o'erhead,
My rapid haste it shall not delay.
The road may be weary and long to tread,
But my steeds shall run without stop or stay.

2.

We gallop; I urge them with might and main.
(Cling, clang, how the ends of my axle ring!)
So fast we go that they stretch the rein
As tense as a lute-player draws each string.

3.

But why this hurry, this frantic speed?
Am I plagued with thirst or with hunger's smart?

makes it "the king." I follow Liu Yuan in making it "the host," for a good part of the poem seems to me language which could not have been appropriately addressed to a monarch. The last verse, especially, which calls on the host to make the best of the present moment, differs materially from the wish so often expressed when a king is addressed, "May you live for ten thousand years,"—the "O king, live forever," of the Bible.

No food, no wine, but my bride I need
 To love me, to teach me, to cheer my heart.

4.

I know she is virtuous, tall and fair.
 My praise, my affection, shall never cease.
 Though no friends are near in our mirth to share,
 Let us feast together in joy and peace.

5.

My food and wine are but coarse, you'll find,
 And no learned scholar, no sage am I.
 Yet we eat and drink with contented mind,
 And sing and trip it right merrily.

6.

Our cottage stands on the plain below,
 'Mid trees on whose branches the pheasants sit.
 And up the mountains each day I go,
 Where the oaks I hew, and their boughs I split.

7.

As oft as your matchless form I see,
 My heart's sole comfort, I glow with pride
 To think that a hewer of wood like me
 Should gain so radiant, so rare a bride.

THE FLIES

1.

The blue flies float on the summer air,
 They are humming and buzzing everywhere.
 They pollute each fence, and our trees infest,
 Till no spot is clear of this noisome pest.

2.

Some men I know like these loathsome flies,
 Who infest the realm with their slanderous lies.

Their hatred and spite they will not restrain,
So confusion, malice, and mischief reign.

3.

Ah, be not careless, dear lord, be wise,
And crush these men, as we crush the flies;
Lest the friendship between old friends should fail,
And contentious strife in its stead prevail.

THE SHIH KING

PART III

SONGS FOR THE GREATER FESTIVALS

SONG ONE

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHAU DYNASTY¹

'Tis to King Wan above to whom we owe
The present glories of the House of Chau.
The State of Chau might boast an ancient name,
But ere his time no honors could it claim.
He made it glorious, so to us by heaven
The gift of Empire was in due time given.
And now his soul has soared beyond the sky,
To sit amongst the chosen ones on high.

So earnest, so determined was the king,
To future days his fame and praise shall ring.
Nor this alone; to stock and branch descend
Rewards and gifts divine that know no end.
Throughout all ages honor and renown
Princes and nobles of the State shall crown;
For these with ardor and with reverent zeal
Effect wise measures for our common weal.
As long as their array shall here be found,
King Wan's repose is sweet, his slumber sound.

Heaven's great behest that he should rule the land
King Wan received, obedient to command.

¹ This didactic poem, which in the original is not wanting in dignity, is said to have been written by Duke Chau, for the instruction of his nephew King Cheng.

The reader should perhaps be reminded that the dynasty preceding the Chau was the Shang, which was afterward called the Yin. It is interesting to see that when the adherents of the Chau family had overthrown the Yin Dynasty, the princes of the latter were not exterminated, but were invited to take parts in the sacrificial rites of their successors.

Nor failed to let his loyal followers see
His ceaseless reverence for this grand decree.

Once myriad princes of the Shang bore sway.
The word was passed. King Wan they must obey.
The Powers can both exalt and overthrow;
So now, obedient to the house of Chau,
Adorned with bonnets and embroidered dress,
To our libations see Yin's nobles press.

Now ye who serve the king with loyalty
Forget not him who ruled in days gone by.
Be virtuous, be obedient, so shall peace
And happiness throughout the realm increase.

Ere Empire passed from Shang's now fallen state,
Her monarch was heaven's favorite and mate.
Let this then prove a warning not to slight
Divine decrees, lest, if we hold them light,
We in our turn may fall and pass away.
Let us instead a righteous name display,
Remembering this; the acts of heaven on high
Call for a watchful ear, a wakeful eye.
Let but King Wan your pattern still remain,
Long o'er the myriad regions shall you reign.

KING WAN AND KING WU

KING WAN

1.

How was it that King Wan earned his fame?
By this — that peace was alone his aim;
And he saw that his work was completely done.
A ruler true was our good King Wan.

2.

By heaven's command he had overthrown
The city of Ts'ung which he made his own.
His home, and his kingdom's center, too,
For our good King Wan was a ruler true.

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3.

It was not self-love bade the king repair
 The moat and walls he demolished there.
 But respect for the past he would thus evince,
 For filial and true was our royal prince.

4.

And there his merit shone bright and clear;
 And the folk came thither from far and near,
 And hailed him as guardian with reverence due,
 For our royal prince was a ruler true.

KING WU ²

5.

To the east of the city a river rolled;
 'Twas banked by Yu in the days of old.
 Where the people flock and allegiance bring
 To Wu, their monarch, their mighty king.

6.

Who removed to Hao, where a hall they raise,
 And around it a circle of water plays.
 Then from north to south and from east to west,
 By all was he monarch and king confest.

7.

By a tortoise-shell then the king divined,
 For the capital this is the spot designed.
 So the city was built complete by Wu,
 And worthy a monarch so good and true.

8.

By the river the millet was shining white,
 To choose such a country was wise and right,
 That his sons might enjoy the advantage, too,
 And bless their father the good King Wu.

² King Wu is the subject of stanza 5 and the following stanzas. The epithet *Huang*, "Imperial," is applied to him, which is supposed to

THE LEGEND OF HOU CHI *

Chiang Yuan was the first of our race; she lived in the days
of yore;
Now list to the wondrous tale of her and the son she bore.
She brought an offering pure to the gods, and prayed them
to bless
The mother, who fain would be freed from the curse of her
barrenness.
And it came to pass that she stepped on the footprint a god
had made,
And thus in a marvelous way was answered the prayer she
prayed.
She conceived; so she dwelt retired, till she brought forth
her son; and he,
Whom she bore and nourished there, was the wonderful
child, Hou Chi.
So kind were the gods that when the months ere his birth
were run,
The mother was spared all pangs in bearing her first-born
son.
As a lamb without hurt or pain is dropped on the flowering
lea,
So without distress or throe did his mother bring forth Hou
Chi.

show that he actually was king of China. I have tried to indicate this in my verses by giving him the title of monarch, with which I have not dignified King Wan on this occasion. It is almost unnecessary to note that Yu is the "Great Yu" who has been mentioned before.

³ King Cheng is taught by this legend the blessings conferred on himself and his people by the introduction of agriculture, and the necessity of never forgetting the grateful rites which are due to heaven for such benefits.

This poem is full of interest, for several reasons. It is the only poem in the whole classic which we can frankly acknowledge to be a solar myth. The most striking parallel to the legend of Hou Chi is the story of Chandragupta, whose mother, "relinquishing him to the protection of the devas, places him at the door of a cattle-pen. Here a bull named Chando comes to him and guards him, and a herdsman, noting this wonder, takes the child and rears him as his own."

On her offerings clean and pure the gods had benignly
 smiled,
 Foreseeing the boy she bore would be known as no common
 child.
 Yet the new-born babe was laid in a narrow lane to die,
 'Neath the feet of oxen and sheep, who would crush him in
 passing by.
 But oxen and sheep forebore, and with tender and loving
 care
 They fostered and saved the life of the child that was lying
 there.
 Men left him, then, to starve in a wilderness vast and wild,
 But wood-cutters passed that way who found and preserved
 the child.
 So they placed him naked on ice, to be killed by the win-
 ter's cold;
 But the wings of a wild swan clasped the child in their soft,
 warm fold.
 When the wild swan flew at last, the boy so bewept⁴ the
 bird,
 Through the country far and near was the sound of his
 wailing heard,
 While yet he crawled on the ground, unable to stand up-
 right,
 Men marveled to see a child, so majestic, so wise and bright.
 And when he became a lad, who himself could supply his
 needs,
 It was his delight to plant large beans on the level meads.

⁴ The commentators are not agreed as to what the bird was that protected Hou Chi. Some of them, in defiance of natural history, translate the word in the plural, and say that it was a flock of swallows. Dr. Legge, in his metrical translation, calls it an eagle. A wild swan is suggested by one critic, and, given such a legend, a wild swan is the most appropriate bird for the performance of the action narrated.

It is not stated by whom the child was exposed. It might be Chiang Yuan's husband, angry that his wife had had a son, of which he was not the father; but most Chinese scholars say that it was the wife herself, who looked on the child as of evil omen. It was only after he had been three times miraculously preserved that she understood that it was Heaven's will that the child should live.

Right well did his tillage thrive, his beans formed a glorious
show,

And his light green tufts of rice were shining row upon row.
And strong and close did his crops of hemp and of wheat
upshoot,

And the trailing gourds, which yielded abundance of yellow
fruit.

And what was the rule he learnt as his guide in his hus-
bandry?

He transgressed not Nature's laws, but assisted reverently.
Though heaven has boons in store, and rich is the bountiful
soil,

Yet the gifts of both shall be lost, if man shall forbear to
toil.

So he stubbed up the grass and weeds ere sowing the yellow
grain,

Which he tended with care till fit to be used as seed again.

Then his land grew green with the blades, next white with
the ripened wheat;

Each ear was strong and good, each kernel was formed com-
plete.

Thus the folk of T'ai rejoiced in the plenty the fields afford;
And they praise Hou Chi and choose him to be their king
and their lord.

He gave them beautiful grain that his people might well be
fed;

The double-kerneled millet, the black, the white and the red.
They planted them far and wide through the country side
around.

And in autumn they reaped the harvest, and stacked the
sheaves on the ground;

Or heaped upon backs and shoulders they carried the crops
away,

To be used for the solemn offering Hou Chi was the first to
pay.

And now of the Sacrifice. 'Tis thus that the rites begin:
In a mortar the grain is hulled and cleared of the husk and
skin.

It is sifted and winnowed clean, and shaken in water until
 It is fit to make purest spirit, whose vapor may float and fill
 The hall where the worship is paid. The omens are duly
 learnt

From herbs which are mixed with the fat of a victim de-
 voutly burnt.

For a lamb must be slain to furnish the broiled and the
 roasted meat,

That a new year's blessing be won by an offering made com-
 plete.

The earthen and wooden stands with gifts must be loaded
 high,

That a sweet and fragrant steam may ascend from earth to
 the sky.

The gods in their home above delight in a grateful smell,
 And gifts at their proper season are needed to please them
 well.

This sacrifice Hou Chi founded. From him to the present
 day

Is there ever a man to grudge it, regret it, or wish it away?

THE MIGRATION OF DUKE LIU⁵

1.

By his people's woes was Duke Liu opprest,
 By night or day he would snatch no rest;
 He divided the fields again and again,
 And in stacks or barns stored the scanty grain.
 But, alas! his efforts were all in vain.

⁵This poem is said to be the composition of Duke Shao, a member of the royal family. Duke Shao is said to have composed the piece when young King Cheng was about to ascend the throne, in order to teach the king, by the example of an ancestor, how a sovereign's chief thought should be the care of his people.

Duke Liu is said to be the great-grandson of Hou Chi, the subject of the preceding poem, but chronology will not bear out this theory. Historians say that Hou Chi was invested with the government of Thai in the year 2276 B.C. The migration described in this poem is assigned to the year 1796 B.C., so that from the time of Hou Chi to the time of his great-grandson 480 years passed. The easiest way out of the difficulty

He bade his men carry dried meat in packs,
 And pour such corn as they saved in sacks;
 Then with bow and arrow and shield and spear,
 And axes and hatchets in each man's hand,
 He bade them abandon their native land,
 Lest his tribe with its glories should disappear.

2.

The people knew that his every thought
 With care and devotion to them was fraught;
 So when he proclaimed that his clan must leave
 The plain which sufficed not to feed them all —
 For the folk were many, the fields were small —
 There was none to utter complaints or grieve.
 For the duke had ascended the rocky height,
 And all admired their mighty lord,
 As they marked his belt with its jewels bright,
 And the shining scabbard, which held his sword.
 But when he returned to the plain once more,
 All thoughts of remaining to starve were o'er.

3.

So they left their homesteads. There was not a man
 To desert his chief when the march began,
 Whose care for his people still filled his mind,
 As southward he gazed from the hills to find
 Some place for them. And he saw below
 A plain so ample that none need fear
 Distress or want in the regions here;

is to take Hou Chi as an ancestor of Duke Liu, but not necessarily his great-grandfather, that is to say, if we believe that Hou Chi had a real existence.

The migration described here was into *Pin*, or the modern Pin Chau in Shensi. But where was the migration from? This remains doubtful, for it is disputed whether it was from Thai, or whether the people had before this been driven into the deserts infested by the Huns and other barbarous tribes, when Duke Liu rescued them. It is sufficient to note that in 1796 B.C., Duke Liu and his tribe, the ancestors of the Chau Dynasty, settled in Pin.

A plain where a hundred streamlets flow.
"For our future capital 'tis the place,"
The duke declared. "Here is room and space
On these rolling downs for our folk to dwell.
Should strangers join, we may lodge them well
In huts, and from this as my judgment-seat
I will issue laws, I will justice mete.
And here with my friends, should the need arise,
Consult, and plans for our good devise."

4.

His love for his people still filled his breast.
When all in this country found peaceful rest,
He summoned his officers great and small,
And mats were spread in the central hall,
And stools were set where the guests might sit,
Or recline on the mats, as each man thought fit.
And a victim, the finest in all the sty,
Was slain, and he filled up the gourd-cups high,
That all, as they feasted around the board,
Might own him as ruler, as king and lord.

5.

His love for his people was warm and strong.
The land he ruled now was broad and long.
He climbed to the mountain top to see
Where the proper bounds of the land should be,
(Part was cold in the shade, part warm in the sun,)
And to mark where the streams and the fountains run.
Three troops were enrolled to protect his land,
And the level marshes and fields he planned,
That the tax might be paid as the laws demand.
To the west of the mountains he spread his State
Till the tribe of Pin became truly great.

6.

Of devotion was Duke Liu full, and of zeal,
His only care was his people's weal.

They leave their wooden huts on the plain,
 And in boats they ferry across the Wei
 To fetch back iron and stone again
 To build them houses which ne'er decay.
 No hovels squalid and mean and small
 Were seen in the bounds of his capital.
 Thus the people increase and they multiply;
 Both sides of the valley they occupy,
 Till the land is too narrow for them, and so
 To the farther bank of the Juy they go.

PURE WATER ⁶

1.

There are waters beside the roadway,
 Defiled by the mud they lie,
 Till each traveler, hot and thirsty,
 Will pass them untasted by.

2.

Yet these waters when clean and filtered
 We use when we cook our rice,
 And to wash out the sacred vessels
 For our holiest sacrifice.

3.

If a monarch, though young and foolish,
 Is courteous and kind, we may
 Behold him called by his people
 Their father, defense, and stay.

⁶ Liu Yuan adopts the following explanation of this otherwise simple poem: "Pool water is muddy, but, when properly filtered, it can be used even in sacred and sacrificial rites. So the people are ignorant; but if the king is kind and condescending, they will look up to him as their parent and their model, and will become efficient servants of the State." He infers that Duke Shao is singing in this poem the praises of King Cheng, who made good officers out of men who originally were stupid and ignorant.

THE DROUGHT IN THE TIME OF KING HSUAN⁷

1.

The king looked up with streaming eyes;
 He sought for help from the starlit skies.
 It was all in vain. 'Twas a cloudless night,
 And the river of heaven flowed clear and bright,
 Till he cried aloud in his grief and pain,
 "Ah me, what crime to my charge is laid,
 That death and disorder my realm invade,
 And famine tortures again and again?
 Is there one god I have failed to pay
 The reverence due, or a gift so rare
 I have grudged to give it, or would I spare
 Our holiest tokens whene'er we pray?
 But the heavens above me are deaf to my prayer.

2.

"The fiery blasts of this heat increase,
 And the drought torments us, and will not cease.
 What altar has failed of its offering,
 From the tiny shrines in the forest wild,
 To the royal fane reserved for the king?
 Each has its sacrifice undefiled.
 Of the gods above and below is none
 To whom due homage has not been done.
 Yet to help us is great Hou Chi afraid,
 And God, omnipotent, grants no aid.
 Would my kingdom's ruin but fell on me,
 Me only, leaving my people free.

3.

"I may not hope to escape this ill,
 This terrible drought, which afflicts us still,

⁷ We now arrive at a poem full of human interest, one of the best and most suggestive in the whole classic.

The composition of this piece is assigned to Jeng Shu, apparently an officer of the court, and the drought mentioned in it may be ac-

Though I know the danger, and full of dread
 I wait as men wait for the thunder's crash,
 When the storm's o'erhead, and the lightning's flash
 May come in a moment to strike them dead.
 Of the black-haired people, Chou's mighty clan,
 Will be scarce left living one single man.
 Nor will heaven above exempt e'en me
 From this cruel fate, though men shake to see
 The king destroyed, and his royal line,
 And ancestral rites, which they thought divine.

4.

"Fierce burns the drought with a fiery glow,
 No refuge we find in this time of woe;
 When I find, alas, that my end is near,
 There is nothing left, there is no one here.
 Ye shades of great men of days gone by,
 Bring ye no hope to your tortured land?
 Oh, my parents' spirits, who dwell on high,
 Will ye not stretch out a helping hand?"

5.

"Our hills are scorched, and our rivers dry,
 For the dire drought demon is passing by.
 O'er all the nation his fatal breath
 Is scattering fire and flames and death;
 Till my heart, too, feels as if set on fire.
 Deaf are the ghosts of the mighty dead.
 Thou who ruledst this world, forego thine ire
 Against thy slave, who would fain retire
 To hide in the deserts his humbled head.

6.

"But though realm be lost, and destruction nigh,
 From the post of fear shall a brave man fly?"

cepted as having occurred in 821 B.C., the sixth year of King Hsuan, who reigned from 827 to 782 B.C.

Stanza 1, "the river of heaven," literally the Yun Han. The River Han in the clouds is "the Milky Way."

I know not whence my misfortune came,
 To what sin of mine to impute the blame.
 Was I late in making the prayers of spring,
 When we pray to heaven for a fruitful year?
 Did I fail at the autumn thanksgiving,
 When we thank the god for our harvest cheer?
 As the gods see men, and high heaven knows all,
 'Tis hard that on me should their anger fall.

7.

“ Because this ruin pervades the land,
 My sway is weak. With a feeble hand
 I hold the reins which should guide the State,
 And my nobles groan 'neath a heavy weight;
 Though there is not one man who will not try —
 From my statesmen of highest dignity,
 To the youngest servant within my gate —
 To help me to banish this misery.
 From heaven above us some aid I'd borrow
 To draw me out from this gulf of sorrow.

8.

“ I look to the skies above this night,
 But all I can see is — the stars shine bright.
 Oh, nobles, oh, friends, beloved by me,
 Who have done whatever such men can do,
 Though your king is waiting for death's decree,
 Relax not the efforts begun by you.
 'Tis not for me only such pains ye take,
 Your work is done for my people's sake.
 For me, my prayer is, May I find peace
 In the silent grave, where all sorrows cease.”

THE SHIH KING

PART IV

HYMNS AND EULOGIES

HYMN ONE

HYMN TO KING WAN¹

Solemn and still the pure ancestral fane;
And many a lord and officer of State,
Who strive to share the virtues of King Wan,
Whose hearts with love and reverence are imbued,
Stand round to aid us in the sacrifice.
They haste to do him service at his shrine,
Wishing to be on earth as he in heaven.
For famed and honored is his glorious name,
A name whereof mankind will never tire.

HYMN TWO

HYMN TO KING WAN

High heaven's mysterious statutes
No change, no error know.
And oh, King Wan's great virtues,
How gloriously they show!
We gratefully acknowledge
His favor to our State.
May we and each descendant
These virtues emulate!

¹This is an unrhymed hymn or anthem to King Wan. The commentators say that when the eastern capital at Lo was finished, King Cheng went thither and consecrated the newly erected royal ancestral temple by a solemn sacrifice, at which a red bull was offered to the shade of King Wan, and another to the shade of King Wu. There is, however, nothing in this hymn, or in the following one, to indicate when they were sung. The Preface seems to be the authority on which the commentators mainly rely in fixing certain appropriate occasions to these hymns.

KING CHENG'S MEDITATIONS.— No. 1²

1.

A burden far too wearisome and great
 Lies upon me, who am a little child,
 Left heartsick and alone to rule this State,
 And tame the people now disturbed and wild.

2.

Like thee, great father, ever let me be;
 For thou through life a filial heart didst show.
 Thy thoughts were of thy mighty sire, as he
 Were present moving in thy courts below.

3.

And I, though weak and feeble, feel the need
 Of showing reverence and the homage due
 To you, ye mighty kings, whom I succeed.
 Yea, night and day I'll ever think on you.

KING CHENG'S MEDITATIONS.— No. 2

Father, as I mount thy throne,
 Whence thy spirit now has flown,
 To be shrined in bliss on high,
 In blind eagerness I try
 To complete the schemes designed
 By thy sage far-seeing mind.
 'Tis for naught I strive and strain,
 All my efforts are in vain.
 Though I start on wisdom's way,
 Folly leads my steps astray.
 Can a weakling such as I
 Bear the stress of sovereignty?
 May, oh, may this gift be given.

² These pieces are touching expressions of humility, to which King Cheng gave vent, as he worshiped after the mourning for his father was at an end, or when he took over the reins of government from his uncle, Duke Chau, who had been acting as Regent. This hymn is addressed to his father, King Wu, and to the rest of his ancestors.

Let thy sainted soul from heaven
 Still these palace courts pervade,
 Bringing comfort, bringing aid,
 Till thy wisdom clear and bright
 Is my instruction and my light.

KING CHENG'S MEDITATIONS.—No. 3

Oh, would that I might learn true reverence;
 For though the will of Heaven is manifest,
 'Tis hard to satisfy each stern decree.
 Nor will I plead that heaven is high aloft,
 Beyond my ken; it is about my path,
 About my ways, and marks each deed I do.

I, weak and young, am but a feeble child,
 Too dull to know what reverence may mean.
 But onward day by day and month by month
 I press, until my flickering gleams of sense
 Shall shine a lamp of wisdom pure and bright.

Help me to bear these burdens, Powers Divine,
 That men may glorify my virtuous acts.

KING CHENG'S CONFESSION³

1.

My days have been passed in folly,
 Which brought but grief in its train.
 But now I will sin no longer
 To suffer such needless pain.

2.

Like a child I played with an insect,
 And thought it a harmless thing,
 Till I placed my fingers upon it,
 And found it could fly and sting.

³ The commentators seem agreed that in this piece King Cheng expresses his regret for his unworthy suspicions of his uncle, Duke Chau, and for his partiality for Wu Keng and his adherents, who repaid his leniency for rebelling against him.

3.

To carry the cares of the kingdom
 Is my burden designed by fate;
 Till the savor of life is bitter,
 And I faint 'neath the crushing weight.

THE ROYAL ANTHEM †

1.

The princely guests have come; they stand around
 The altar, in its offerings to unite.
 The king, with face of gravity profound,
 Begins decorously the sacred rite.

2.

“A noble bull I lay before thy shrine,
 While friends assist me in the service done.
 August and mighty sire from realms divine,
 Comfort me now, your true, your reverent son.

3.

“In wisdom thou the man didst ever play;
 Endowed wast thou with arts of war and peace;
 Till heaven rejoiced to watch thy peaceful sway,
 And granted blessings which shall never cease.

4.

“I live till shaggy brows conceal my eyes;
 I am with countless gifts made blest and great.
 To thee, then, famous sire, I sacrifice,
 To her, who nobly shared thy throne and State.”

† This hymn is the most solemn and reverential of all in this book. The Preface says that it was appropriate to the *Ti*, or great quinquennial sacrifice. The commentators are divided in opinion whether the king who conducted the ceremony was King Wu or King Cheng. The beings to whom worship was paid were indisputably the shades of King Wan and his wife.

In the Confucian “Analects,” Book iii, there are allusions to “the Great Sacrifice.” Confucius intended to point out that the rulers of his own State, the State of Lu, had no right to usurp a rite, which was too solemn to be performed by any one but the king himself. Moreover, in the second chapter of the same book, he speaks of the use of this hymn by any one but the king as a usurpation of the royal rites.

BOOK XXXI.—THE SACRIFICIAL ODES OF SHANG¹ODE ONE.—THE NA²

How admirable! how complete!
 Here are set our hand-drums and drums.
 The drums resound harmonious and loud,
 To delight our meritorious ancestor.³

The descendant of Thang invites him with this music,
 That he may soothe us with the realization of our thoughts.⁴
 Deep is the sound of our hand-drums and drums;
 Shrilly sound the flutes;
 All harmonious and blending together,
 According to the notes of the sonorous gem.
 Oh! majestic is the descendant of Thang;
 Very admirable is his music.

¹ These odes of Shang constitute the last Book in the ordinary editions of the Shih. Yet they are the oldest of all the songs. There are only five of them. For the Shang Dynasty and its great ruler Thang see Part IV of the Shu King. The Odes of Shang are here given in the literal translation of Professor Legge.

² The piece is called the Na, because a character so named is an important part of the first line. So generally the pieces in the Shih receive their names from a character or phrase occurring in them.

³ The "meritorious ancestor" is Thang. The sacrifices of the Shang Dynasty commenced with music; those of the Chau, libations of fragrant spirits; in both cases with the same object, to attract the spirit, or spirits, sacrificed to, and secure their presence at the service. Chan Hao (Ming Dynasty) says, "The departed spirits hover between heaven and earth, and sound goes forth, filling the region of the air. Hence in sacrificing, the people of Yin began with a performance of music."

⁴ The Li Chi tells us, that the sacrificer, as preliminary to the service, had to fast for some days, and to think of the person of his ancestor — where he had stood and sat, how he had smiled and spoken, what had been his cherished aims, pleasures, and delights; and on the third day he would have a complete image of him in his mind's eye. Then on the day of sacrifice, when he entered the temple, he would seem to see him in his shrine, and to hear him, as he went about in the discharge of the service. This line seems to indicate the realization of all this.

The large bells and drums fill the ear;
 The various dances are grandly performed.⁵
 We have the admirable visitors,⁶
 Who are pleased and delighted.

From of old, before our time,
 The former men set us the example —
 How to be mild and humble from morning to night,
 And to be reverent in discharging the service.

May he regard our sacrifices of winter and autumn,⁷
 Thus offered by the descendant of Thang!

ODE TWO.— THE LIEH TSU⁸

Ah! ah! our meritorious ancestor!
 Permanent are the blessings coming from him,
 Repeatedly conferred without end;
 They have come to you in this place.

The clear spirits are in our vessels,
 And there is granted to us the realization of our thoughts.
 There are also the well-tempered soups,
 Prepared beforehand, with ingredients rightly proportioned.
 By these offerings we invite his presence without a word,
 Without unseemly contention among the worshipers.
 He will bless us with the eyebrows of longevity,
 With the gray hair and wrinkled face in unlimited degree.

With the naves of their wheels bound with leather, and their
 ornamented yokes,

⁵ Dancing thus entered into the service as an accompaniment of the music. Two terms are employed; one denoting the movements appropriate to a dance of war, the other those appropriate to a dance of peace.

⁶ The visitors would be the representatives of the lines of Hsia, Shun, and Yao.

⁷ Two of the seasonal sacrifices are thus specified, by synecdoche, for all the four.

⁸ Probably like the last ode, appropriate to a sacrifice to Thang, dwelling on the spirits, the soup, and the gravity of the service, and on the assisting princes.

With the eight bells at their horses' bits all tinkling,
 The princes come to assist at the offerings.⁹
 We have received the appointment in all its greatness,
 And from Heaven is our prosperity sent down,
 Fruitful years of great abundance.
 Our ancestor will come and enjoy our offerings,
 And confer on us happiness without limit.

May he regard our sacrifices of winter and autumn,
 Thus offered by the descendant of Thang!

ODE THREE.—THE HSUAN NIAO¹⁰

Heaven commissioned the swallow,
 To descend and give birth to the father of our Shang.¹¹
 His descendants dwelt in the land of Yin, and became great.
 Then long ago God appointed the martial Thang
 To regulate the boundaries throughout the four quarters of
 the kingdom.

⁹ These lines are descriptive of the feudal princes, who were present and assisted at the sacrificial service. The chariot of each was drawn by four horses yoked abreast, two insides and two outsides, on each side of the bits of which small bells were attached.

¹⁰ If this ode were not intended to do honor to King Wu-ting of Shang, we can not account for the repeated mention of him in it. Chu Hsi, however, in his note on it, says nothing about Wu-ting, but simply that the piece belonged to the sacrifices in the ancestral temple, tracing back the line of the kings of Shang to its origin, and to its attaining the sovereignty of the kingdom. Not at all unlikely is the view of Chang Hsuan, that the sacrifice was in the third year after the death of Wu-ting, and offered to him in the temple of Hsieh, the ancestor of the Shang Dynasty.

¹¹ The father of Shang is Hsieh, who has already been mentioned. The mother of Hsieh was a daughter of the House of the ancient State of Sung, and a concubine of the ancient ruler Khu (2435 B.C.). According to Mao, she accompanied Khu, at the time of the vernal equinox, when the swallow made its appearance, to sacrifice and pray to the first match-maker, and the result was the birth of Hsieh. Sze-ma Chien and Chang make Hsieh's birth more marvelous: The lady was bathing in some open place, when a swallow made its appearance, and dropped an egg, which she took and swallowed; and from this came Hsieh. The editors of the imperial edition of the Shih, of the present dynasty, say we need not believe the legends; the important point is to believe that the birth of Hsieh was specially ordered by Heaven.

In those quarters he appointed the princes,
 And grandly possessed the nine regions.¹²
 The first sovereign of Shang¹³
 Received the appointment without any element of insta-
 bility in it,
 And it is now held by the descendant of Wu-ting.

The descendant of Wu-ting
 Is a martial sovereign, equal to every emergency.
 Ten princes, who came with their dragon-emblazoned ban-
 ners,
 Bear the large dishes of millet.

The royal domain of a thousand li
 Is where the people rest;
 But the boundaries that reach to the four seas commence
 there.

From the four seas¹⁴ they come to our sacrifices;
 They come in multitudes.
 Ching has the Ho for its outer border.
 That Yin¹⁵ should have received the appointment of
 Heaven was entirely right;
 Its sovereign sustains all its dignities.

ODE FOUR.—THE CHANG FA¹⁶

Profoundly wise were the lords of Shang,
 And long had there appeared the omens of their dignity.

¹² "The nine regions" are the nine provinces into which Yu divided the kingdom.

¹³ That is, Thang.

¹⁴ This expression, which occurs also in the Shu, indicates that the early Chinese believed that their country extended to the sea, east, west, north, and south.

¹⁵ We saw in the Shu that the name Shang gave place to Yin after the time of Pan-kang, 1401 to 1374 B.C. Wu-ting's reign was subsequent to that of Pan-kang.

¹⁶ It does not appear on what occasion of sacrifice this piece was made. The most probable view is that of Mao, that it was the "great Ti sacrifice," when the principal object of honor would be the ancient

When the waters of the deluge spread vast abroad,
 Yu arranged and divided the regions of the land,
 And assigned to the exterior great States their boundaries,
 With their borders extending all over the kingdom.
 Even then the chief of Sung was beginning to be great,
 And God raised up the son of his daughter, and founded the
 line of Shang.¹⁷

The dark king exercised an effective sway.¹⁸
 Charged with a small State, he commanded success;
 Charged with a large State, he commanded success.¹⁹
 He followed his rules of conduct without error;
 Wherever he inspected the people, they responded to his
 instructions.²⁰
 Then came Hsiang-thu all ardent,²¹
 And all within the four seas, beyond the middle regions,
 acknowledged his restraints.

The favor of God did not leave Shang,
 And in Thang was found the fit object for its display.
 Thang was not born too late,
 And his wisdom and reverence daily advanced:
 Brilliant was the influence of his character on Heaven for
 long.
 God he revered,
 And God appointed him to be the model for the nine regions.

Khu, the father of Hsieh, with Hsieh as his correlate, and all the
 kings of the dynasty, with the earlier lords of Shang, and their famous
 ministers and advisers, would have their places at the service. This is
 probably the oldest of the odes of Shang.

¹⁷ This line refers to the birth of Hsieh, as described in the previous
 ode, and his being made lord of Shang.

¹⁸ It would be hard to say why Hsieh is here called "the dark king."
 There may be an allusion to the legend about the connection of the swal-
 low—"the dark bird"—with his birth. He never was "a king"; but
 his descendants here represented him as such.

¹⁹ All that is meant here is that the territory of Shang was enlarged
 under Hsieh.

²⁰ There is a reference here to Hsieh's appointment by Shun to be
 Minister of Instruction.

²¹ Hsiang-thu appears in the genealogical lists as grandson of Hsieh.
 We know nothing of him but what is related here.

He received the rank-tokens of the States, small and large,
 Which depended on him like the pendants of a banner:
 So did he receive the blessing of Heaven.
 He was neither violent nor remiss,
 Neither hard nor soft.
 Gently he spread his instructions abroad,
 And all dignities and riches were concentrated in him.

He received the tribute of the States, small and large,
 And he supported them as a strong steed does its burden:
 So did he receive the favor of Heaven.
 He displayed everywhere his valor,
 Unshaken, unmoved,
 Unterrified, unscared:
 All dignities were united in him.

The martial king displayed his banner,
 And with reverence grasped his axe.
 It was like the case of a blazing fire which no one can repress.
 The root, with its three shoots,
 Could make no progress, no growth.²²
 The nine regions were effectually secured by Thang.
 Having smitten the princes of Wei and Ku,
 He dealt with him of Chun-wu and with Chieh of Hsia.

Formerly, in the middle of the period before Thang,
 There was a time of shaking and peril.²³
 But truly did Heaven then deal with him as a son,
 And sent him down a high minister,
 Namely, A-hang,²⁴
 Who gave his assistance to the king of Shang.

²² By "the root" we are to understand Thang's chief opponent, Chieh, the last king of Hsia. Chieh's three great helpers were "the three shoots"—the princes of Wei, Ku, and Chun-wu; but the exact sites of their principalities can not be made out.

²³ We do not know anything of this time of decadence in the fortunes of Shang between Hsieh and Thang.

²⁴ A-hang is I Yin, who plays so remarkable a part in the Shu, IV, Books iv, v, and vi.

ODE FIVE.—THE YIN WU²⁵

Rapid was the warlike energy of our king of Yin,
 And vigorously did he attack Ching Chu.²⁶
 Boldly he entered its dangerous passes,
 And brought the multitudes of Ching together,
 Till the country was reduced under complete restraint:
 Such was the fitting achievement of the descendant of
 Thang!

“Ye people,” he said, “of Ching-Chu,
 Dwell in the southern part of my kingdom.
 Formerly, in the time of Thang the Successful,
 Even from the Chiang of Ti,²⁷
 They dared not but come with their offerings;
 Their chiefs dared not but come to seek acknowledgment.²⁸
 Such is the regular rule of Shang.”

Heaven had given their appointments to the princes,
 But where their capitals had been assigned within the
 sphere of the labors of Yu,
 For the business of every year they appeared before our
 king,²⁹
 Saying, “Do not punish nor reprove us;
 We have not been remiss in our husbandry.”

²⁵ Celebrating the war of Wu-ting against Ching-chu, its success, and the general happiness and virtue of his reign; made, probably, when a special and permanent temple was built for him as the “high and honored” king of Shang.

²⁶ Ching, or Chu, or Ching-Chu, as the names are combined here, was a large and powerful half-savage State, having its capital in the present Wu-pei.

²⁷ The Ti Chiang, or Chiang of Ti, still existed in the time of the Han Dynasty, occupying portions of the present Kan-su.

²⁸ The chiefs of the wild tribes, lying beyond the nine provinces of the kingdom, were required to present themselves once in their lifetime at the royal court. The rule, in normal periods, was for each chief to appear immediately after he had succeeded to the headship of his tribe.

²⁹ The feudal lords had to appear at court every year. They did so, we may suppose, at the court of Wu-ting, the more so because of his subjugation of Ching-Chu.

When Heaven by its will is inspecting the kingdom,
The lower people are to be feared.
Our king showed no partiality in rewarding, no excess in
punishing;
He dared not to allow himself in indolence:
So was his appointment established over the States,
And he made his happiness grandly secure.

The capital of Shang was full of order,
The model for all parts of the kingdom.
Glorious was the king's fame;
Brilliant his energy,
Long lived he and enjoyed tranquillity,
And so he preserves us, his descendants.

We ascended the hill of Ching,
Where the pines and cypresses grew symmetrical,
We cut them down and conveyed them here;
We reverently hewed them square.
Long are the projecting beams of pine;
Large are the many pillars.
The temple was completed — the tranquil abode of the
martial king of Yin.

END OF THE SHIH KING

THE YI KING
OR
BOOK OF CHANGES

“ By fifty years’ study of the Yi, I might come to be free from serious error.”

— CONFUCIUS.

“ As I came not into life with any knowledge of it, and as my likings are for what is old, I busy myself in seeking knowledge there.”

— CONFUCIUS.

2. In the second line, undivided, we see its subject as the dragon appearing in the field. It will be advantageous to meet with the great man.

3. In the third line, undivided, we see its subject as the superior man active and vigilant all the day, and in the evening still careful and apprehensive. The position is dangerous, but there will be no mistake.

4. In the fourth line, undivided, we see its subject as the dragon looking as if he were leaping up, but still in the deep. There will be no mistake.

5. In the fifth line, undivided, we see its subject as the dragon on the wing in the sky. It will be advantageous to meet with the great man.

6. In the sixth or topmost line, undivided, we see its subject as the dragon exceeding the proper limits. There will be occasion for repentance.

7. The lines of this hexagram are all strong and undivided, as appears from the use of the number nine. If the host of dragons thus appearing were to divest themselves of their heads, there would be good fortune.

divination. Up and down throughout the text of the 64 hexagrams, we often find the characters thus coupled together. Both interpretations are possible. I have followed what is accepted as the view of Confucius. It would take pages to give a tithe of what has been written in justification of it, and to reconcile it with the other.

"The dragon" is the symbol employed by the Duke of Chau to represent "the superior man" and especially "the great man," exhibiting the virtues or attributes characteristic of heaven. The creature's proper home is in the water, but it can disport itself on the land, and also fly and soar aloft. It has been from the earliest time the emblem with the Chinese of the highest dignity and wisdom, of sovereignty and sagehood, the combination of which constitutes "the great man." One emblem runs through the lines of many of the hexagrams as here.

But the dragon appears in the sixth line as going beyond the proper limits. The ruling-sage has gone through all the sphere in which he is called on to display his attributes; it is time for him to relax. The line should not be always pulled tight; the bow should not be always kept drawn. The unchanging use of force will give occasion for repentance. The moral meaning found in the line is that "the high shall be abased."

Such explanations as this are given in the appendixes for every hexagram.

II. THE KWAN HEXAGRAM²

Khwan represents what is great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and having the firmness of a mare. When the superior man (here intended) has to make any movement, if he take the initiative, he will go astray; if he follow, he will find his proper lord. The advantageousness will be seen in his getting friends in the southwest, and losing friends in the northeast. If he rest in correctness and firmness, there will be good fortune.

1. In the first line, divided, we see its subject treading on hoar frost. The strong ice will come by and by.

2. The second line, divided, shows the attribute of being straight, square, and great. Its operation, without repeated efforts, will be in every respect advantageous.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject keeping his excellence under restraint, but firmly maintaining it. If he should have occasion to engage in the king's service, though he will not claim the success for himself, he will bring affairs to a good issue.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows the symbol of a sack tied up. There will be no ground for blame or for praise.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the yellow lower garment. There will be great good fortune.

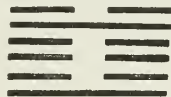
6. The sixth line, divided, shows dragons fighting in the wild. Their blood is purple and yellow.

7. The lines of this hexagram are all weak and divided,

²The same attributes are here ascribed to *Khwan*, as in the former hexagram to Chien; but with a difference. The figure, made up of six divided lines, expresses the ideal of subordination and docility. The superior man, represented by it, must not take the initiative; and by following he will find his lord—the subject, that is, of Chien. Again, the correctness and firmness is defined to be that of “a mare,” “docile and strong,” but a creature for the service of man. That it is not the sex of the animal which the writer has chiefly in mind is plain from the immediate mention of the superior man, and his lord.

as appears from the use of the number six. If those who are thus represented be perpetually correct and firm, advantage will arise.

III. THE CHUN HEXAGRAM³



Chun indicates that in the case which it presupposes there will be great progress and success, and the advantage will come from being correct and firm. But any movement in advance should not be lightly undertaken. There will be advantage in appointing feudal princes.

1. The first line, undivided, shows the difficulty its subject has in advancing. It will be advantageous for him to abide correct and firm; advantageous also to be made a feudal ruler.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject distressed and obliged to return; even the horses of her chariot also seem to be retreating. But not by a spoiler is she assailed, but by one who seeks her to be his wife. The young lady maintains her firm correctness, and declines a union. After ten years she will be united, and have children.

3. The third line, divided, shows one following the deer without the guidance of the forester, and only finding himself in the midst of the forest. The superior man, acquainted with the secret risks, thinks it better to give up the chase. If he went forward, he would regret it.

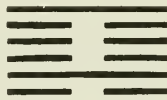
4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject as a lady, the horses of whose chariot appear in retreat. She seeks, however, the help of him who seeks her to be his wife. Advance will be fortunate; all will turn out advantageously.

³ The character called *Chun* is pictorial, and was intended to show us how a plant struggles with difficulty out of the earth, rising gradually above the surface. This difficulty, marking the first stages in the growth of a plant, is used to symbolize the struggles that mark the rise of a State out of a condition of disorder, consequent on a great revolution.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the difficulties in the way of its subject's dispensing the rich favors that might be expected from him. With firmness and correctness there will be good fortune in small things; even with them in great things there will be evil.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject with the horses of his chariot obliged to retreat, and weeping tears of blood in streams.

IV. THE MANG HEXAGRAM ⁴



Mang indicates that in the case which it presupposes there will be progress and success. I do not go and seek the youthful and inexperienced, but he comes and seeks me. When he shows the sincerity that marks the first recourse to divination, I instruct him. If he apply a second and third time, that is troublesome; and I do not instruct the troublesome. There will be advantage in being firm and correct.

1. The first line, divided, has respect to the dispelling of ignorance. It will be advantageous to use punishment for that purpose, and to remove the shackles from the mind. But going on in that way of punishment will give occasion for regret.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject exercising forbearance with the ignorant, in which there will be good fortune; and admitting even the goodness of women,

⁴ As *Chun* shows us plants struggling from beneath the surface, *Mang* suggests to us the small and undeveloped appearance which they then present; and hence it came to be the symbol of youthful inexperience and ignorance. The object of the hexagram is to show how such a condition should be dealt with by the parent and ruler, whose authority and duty are represented by the second and sixth, the two undivided lines. All between the first and last sentences of the *Thwan* must be taken as an oracular response received by the party divining on the subject of enlightening the youthful ignorant. This accounts for its being more than usually enigmatical, and for its being partly rhythmical.

which will also be fortunate. He may be described also as a son able to sustain the burden of his family.

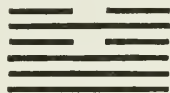
3. The third line, divided, seems to say that one should not marry a woman whose emblem it might be, for that, when she sees a man of wealth, she will not keep her person from him, and in no wise will advantage come from her.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject as if bound in chains of ignorance. There will be occasion for regret.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject as a simple lad without experience. There will be good fortune.

6. In the topmost line, undivided, we see one smiting the ignorant youth. But no advantage will come from doing him an injury. Advantage would come from warding off injury from him.

V. THE HSU HEXAGRAM ⁵



Hsu intimates that, with the sincerity which is declared in it, there will be brilliant success. With firmness there will be good fortune; and it will be advantageous to cross the great stream.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject waiting in

⁵ *Hsu* means waiting. Strength confronted by peril might be expected to advance boldly and at once to struggle with it; but it takes the wiser plan of waiting till success is sure. This is the lesson of the hexagram. That "sincerity is declared in it" is proved from the fifth line in the position of honor and authority, central, itself undivided and in an odd place. In such a case, nothing but firm correctness is necessary to great success.

"Going through a great stream," an expression frequent in the *Yi*, may mean undertaking hazardous enterprises, or encountering great difficulties, without any special reference; but more natural is it to understand by "the great stream" the Yellow river, which the lords of Chau must cross in a revolutionary movement against the dynasty of Yin and its tyrant. The passage of it by King Wu, the son of Wan, in 1122 B.C., was certainly one of the greatest deeds in the history of China. It was preceded also by long "waiting," till the time of assured success came.

the distant border. It will be well for him constantly to maintain the purpose thus shown, in which case there will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject waiting on the sand of the mountain stream. He will suffer the small injury of being spoken against, but in the end there will be good fortune.

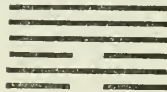
3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject in the mud close by the stream. He thereby invites the approach of injury.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject waiting in the place of blood. But he will get out of the cavern.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject waiting amidst the appliances of a feast. Through his firmness and correctness there will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject entered into the cavern. But there are three guests coming, without being urged, to his help. If he receive them respectfully, there will be good fortune in the end.

VI. THE SUNG HEXAGRAM⁶



Sung intimates how, though there is sincerity in one's contention, he will yet meet with opposition and obstruction;

⁶ We have strength in the upper trigram, as if to regulate and control the lower, and peril in that lower as if looking out for an opportunity to assail the upper; or, as it may be represented, we have one's self in a state of peril matched against strength from without. All this is supposed to give the idea of contention or strife. But the undivided line in the center of *Khan* is emblematic of sincerity, and gives a character to the whole figure. An individual, so represented, will be very wary, and have good fortune; but strife is bad, and, if persevered in even by such a one, the effect will be evil. The fifth line, undivided, in an odd place, and central, serves as a representative of "the great man," whose agency is sure to be good; but the topmost line being also strong, and with its two companions, riding as it were, on the trigram of peril, its action is likely to be too rash for a great enterprise.

but if he cherish an apprehensive caution, there will be good fortune, while, if he must prosecute the contention to the bitter end, there will be evil. It will be advantageous to see the great man; it will not be advantageous to cross the great stream.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject not perpetuating the matter about which the contention is. He will suffer the small injury of being spoken against, but the end will be fortunate.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject unequal to the contention. If he retire and keep concealed where the inhabitants of his city are only three hundred families, he will fall into no mistake.

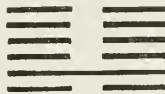
3. The third line, divided, shows its subject keeping in the old place assigned for his support, and firmly correct. Perilous as the position is, there will be good fortune in the end. Should he perchance engage in the king's business, he will not claim the merit of achievement.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject unequal to the contention. He returns to the study of Heaven's ordinances, changes his wish to contend, and rests in being firm and correct. There will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject contending — and with great good fortune.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows how its subject may have the leathern belt conferred on him by the sovereign, and thrice it shall be taken from him in a morning.

VII. THE SZE HEXAGRAM⁷



Sze indicates how, in the case which it supposes, with firmness and correctness, and a leader of age and experience, there will be good fortune and no error.

⁷ The conduct of military expeditions in a feudal kingdom, and we may say, generally, is denoted by the hexagram *Sze*.

1. The first line, divided, shows the host going forth according to the rules for such a movement. If these be not good, there will be evil.

2. The second line, undivided, shows the leader in the midst of the host. There will be good fortune and no error. The king has thrice conveyed to him the orders of his favor.

3. The third line, divided, shows how the host may, possibly, have many inefficient leaders. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows the host in retreat. There is no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows birds in the fields, which it will be advantageous to seize and destroy. In that case there will be no error. If the oldest son leads the host, the younger men idly occupy offices assigned to them, however firm and correct he may be, there will be evil.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows the great ruler delivering his charges, appointing some to be rulers of States, and others to undertake the headship of clans; but small men should not be employed in such positions.

VIII. THE PI HEXAGRAM⁸



Pi indicates that under the conditions which it supposes there is good fortune. But let the principal party intended in it reexamine himself, as if by divination, whether his virtue be great, unintermitting, and firm. If it be so, there will be no error. Those who have not rest will then come to him; and with those who are too late in coming it will be ill.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject seeking by

⁸ The idea of union between the different members and classes of a State, and how it can be secured, is the subject of the hexagram *Pi*. The whole line occupying the fifth place, or that of authority, in the hexagram, represents the ruler to whom the subjects of all the other lines offer a ready submission.

his sincerity to win the attachment of his object. There will be no error. Let the breast be full of sincerity as an earthenware vessel is of its contents, and it will in the end bring other advantages.

2. In the second line, divided, we see the movement toward union and attachment proceeding from the inward mind. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

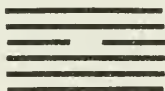
3. In the third line, divided, we see its subject seeking for union with such as ought not to be associated with.

4. In the fourth line, divided, we see its subject seeking for union with the one beyond himself. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, affords the most illustrious instance of seeking union and attachment. We seem to see in it the king urging his pursuit of the game only in three directions, and allowing the escape of all the animals before him, while the people of his towns do not warn one another to prevent it. There will be good fortune.

6. In the topmost line, divided, we see one seeking union and attachment without having taken the first step to such an end. There will be evil.

IX. THE HSIAO CHU HEXAGRAM⁹



Hsiao Chu indicates that under its conditions there will be progress and success. We see dense clouds, but no rain coming from our borders in the west.

⁹The name *Hsiao Chu* is interpreted as meaning "small restraint." The idea of "restraint" having once been determined on as that to be conveyed by the figure, it is easily made out that the restraint must be small, for its representative is the divided line in the fourth place; and the check given by that to all the undivided lines can not be great. Even if we suppose, as many critics do, that all the virtue of that upper trigram *Sun* is concentrated in its first line, the attribute ascribed to *Sun* is that of docile flexibility, which can not long be successful against the strength emblemed by the lower trigram *Chien*. The restraint therefore is small, and in the end there will be "progress and success."

The second sentence of the *Thwan* contains indications of the place,

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject returning and pursuing his own course. What mistake should he fall into? There will be good fortune.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject, by the attraction of the former line, returning to the proper course. There will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, suggests the idea of a carriage, the strap beneath which has been removed, or of a husband and wife looking on each other with averted eyes.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity. The danger of bloodshed is thereby averted, and his ground for apprehension dismissed. There will be no mistake.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity, and drawing others to unite with him. Rich in resources, he employs his neighbors in the same cause with himself.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows how the rain has fallen, and the onward progress is stayed;—so must we value the full accumulation of the virtue, represented by the upper trigram. But a wife exercising restraint, however firm and correct she may be, is in a position of peril, and like the moon approaching to the full. If the superior man prosecute his measures in such circumstances, there will be evil.

time, and personality of the writer which it seems possible to ascertain. The fief of Chau was the western portion of the kingdom of Yin or Shang, the China of the twelfth century B.C., the era of King Wan. Rain coming and moistening the ground is the cause of the beauty and luxuriance of the vegetable world, and the emblem of the blessings flowing from good training and good government. Here therefore in the west, the hereditary territory of the house of Chau, are blessings which might enrich the whole kingdom; but they are somehow restrained. The dense clouds do not empty their stores.

Regis says: "To declare openly that no rain fell from the heavens long covered with dense clouds over the great tract of country, which stretched from the western border to the court and on to the eastern sea, was nothing else but leaving it to all thoughtful minds to draw the conclusion that the family of Wan was as worthy of the supreme seat as that of Shan, the tyrant, however ancient, was unworthy of it." The intimation is not put in the text, however, so clearly as by Regis.

X. THE LI HEXAGRAM ¹⁰

Li suggests the idea of one treading on the tail of a tiger, which does not bite him. There will be progress and success.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject treading his accustomed path. If he go forward, there will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject treading the path that is level and easy; a quiet and solitary man, to whom, if he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune.

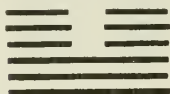
3. The third line, divided, shows a one-eyed man who thinks he can see; a lame man who thinks he can walk well; one who treads on the tail of a tiger and is bitten. All this indicates ill fortune. We have a mere bravo acting the part of a great ruler.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject treading on the tail of a tiger. He becomes full of apprehensive caution, and in the end there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the resolute tread of its subject. Though he be firm and correct, there will be peril.

6. The sixth line, undivided, tells us to look at the whole course that is trodden, and examine the presage which that gives. If it be complete and without failure, there will be great good fortune.

¹⁰ The character giving its name to the hexagram plays an important part also in the symbolism; and this may be the reason why it does not, as the name, occupy the first place in the *Thwan*. Looking at the figure, we see it is made up of the trigrams *Tui*, representing a marsh, and *Chien*, representing the sky. *Tui* is a *yin* trigram, and its top line is divided. Below *Chien*, the great symbol of strength, it may readily suggest the idea of treading on a tiger's tail, which was an old way of expressing what was hazardous (Shu V, xxv, 2). But what suggests the statement that "the tiger does not bite the treader"? The attribute of *Tui* is "pleased satisfaction." Of course such an attribute could not be predicated of one who was in the fangs of a tiger. The coming scatheless out of such danger further suggests the idea of "progress and success."

XI. THE THAI HEXAGRAM ¹¹

In *Thai* we see the little gone and the great come. It indicates that there will be good fortune, with progress and success.

1. The first line, undivided, suggests the idea of grass pulled up, and bringing with it other stalks with whose roots it is connected. Advance on the part of its subject will be fortunate.

2. The second line, undivided, shows one who can bear with the uncultivated, will cross the Ho without a boat, does not forget the distant, and has no selfish friendships. Thus does he prove himself acting in accordance with the course of the due Mean.

3. The third line, undivided, shows that, while there is no state of peace that is not liable to be disturbed, and no departure of evil men so that they shall not return, yet when one is firm and correct, as he realizes the distresses that may arise, he will commit no error. There is no occasion for sadness at the certainty of such recurring changes; and in this mood the happiness of the present may be long enjoyed.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject fluttering down; — not relying on his own rich resources, but calling in his neighbors. They all come not as having received warning, but in the sincerity of their hearts.

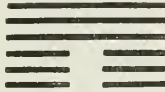
5. The fifth line, divided, reminds us of King Ti-yi's rule

¹¹ The language of the *Thwan* has reference to the form of *Thai*, with the three strong lines of *Chien* below, and the three weak lines of *Khwan* above. The former are "the great," active and vigorous; the latter are "the small," inactive and submissive. A course in which the motive forces are represented by the three strong, and the opposing by the three weak lines, must be progressive and successful. *Thai* is called the hexagram of the first month of the year, the first month of the natural spring, when for six months, through the fostering sun and genial skies, the processes of growth will be going on.

about the marriage of his younger sister. By such a course there is happiness and there will be great good fortune.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows us the city wall returned into the moat. It is not the time to use the army. The subject of the line may, indeed, announce his orders to the people of his own city; but however correct and firm he may be, he will have cause for regret.

XII. THE PHI HEXAGRAM ¹²



In *Phi* there is the want of good understanding between the different classes of men, and its indication is unfavorable to the firm and correct course of the superior man. We see in it the great gone and the little come.

1. The first line, divided, suggests the idea of grass pulled up, and bringing with it other stalks with whose roots it is connected. With firm correctness on the part of its subject, there will be good fortune and progress.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject patient and obedient. To the small man comporting himself so there will be good fortune. If the great man comport himself as the distress and obstruction require, he will have success.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject ashamed of the purpose folded in his breast.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject acting in accordance with the ordination of Heaven, and committing no error. His companions will come and share in his happiness.

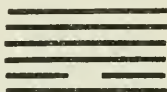
5. In the fifth line, undivided, we see him who brings the distress and obstruction to a close — the great man and for-

¹² The form of *Phi*, it will be seen, is exactly the opposite of that of *Thai*. Much of what has been said on the interpretation of that will apply to this, or at least assist the student in making out the meaning of its symbolism. *Phi* is the hexagram of the seventh month. Genial influences have done their work, the processes of growth are at an end. Henceforth increasing decay must be looked for.

tunate. But let him say, "We may perish! We may perish!" so shall the state of things become firm, as if bound to a clump of bushy mulberry-trees.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows the overthrow and removal of the condition of distress and obstruction. Before this there was that condition. Hereafter there will be joy.

XIII. THE THUNG TSAN HEXAGRAM ¹³



Thung Tsan (or "Union of men") appears here as we find it in the remote districts of the country, indicating progress and success. It will be advantageous to cross the great stream. It will be advantageous to maintain the firm correctness of the superior man.

1. The first line, undivided, shows the representative of the union of men just issuing from his gate. There will be no error.

2. The second line, divided, shows the representative of the union of men just issuing from his gate. There will be occasion for regret.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject with his arms hidden in the thick grass, and at the top of a high mound. But for three years he makes no demonstration.

¹³ *Thung Tsan* describes a condition of nature and of the state opposite to that of *Phi*. There were distress and obstruction; here is union. But the union must be based entirely on public considerations, without taint of selfishness.

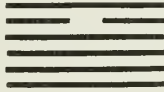
The strong line in the fifth, its correct, place, occupies the most important position, and has for its correlate the weak second line, also in its correct place. The one divided line is naturally sought after by all the strong lines. The upper trigram is that of heaven, which is above; the lower is that of fire, whose tendency is to mount upward. All these things are in harmony with the idea of union. But the union must be free from all selfish motives, and this is indicated by its being in the remote districts of the country, where people are unsophisticated, and free from the depraving effects incident to large societies. A union from such motives will cope with the greatest difficulties; and yet a word of caution is added.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject mounted on the city wall; but he does not proceed to make the attack he contemplates. There will be good fortune.

5. In the fifth line, undivided, the representative of the union of men first wails and cries out, and then laughs. His great host conquers, and he and the subject of the second line meet together.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows the representative of the union of men in the suburbs. There will be no occasion for repentance.

XIV. THE TA YU HEXAGRAM¹⁴



Ta Yu indicates that, under the circumstances which it implies, there will be great progress and success.

1. In the first line, undivided, there is no approach to what is injurious, and there is no error. Let there be a realization of the difficulty and danger of the position, and there will be no error to the end.

2. In the second line, undivided, we have a large wagon with its load. In whatever direction advance is made, there will be no error.

3. The third line, undivided, shows us a feudal prince presenting his offerings to the Son of Heaven. A small man would be unequal to such a duty.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject keeping his great resources under restraint. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the sincerity of its sub-

¹⁴ *Ta Yu* means "Great Havings"; denoting in a kingdom a state of prosperity and abundance, and in a family or individual, a state of opulence. The danger threatening such a condition arises from the pride which it is likely to engender. But everything here is against that issue. Apart from the symbolism of the trigrams, we have the place of honor occupied by a weak line, so that its subject will be humble; and all the other lines, strong as they are, will act in obedient sympathy. There will be great progress and success.

ject reciprocated by that of all the others represented in the hexagram. Let him display a proper majesty, and there will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject with help accorded to him from Heaven. There will be good fortune, advantage in every respect.

XV. THE CHIEN HEXAGRAM ¹⁵



Chien indicates progress and success. The superior man, being humble as it implies, will have a good issue to his undertakings.

1. The first line, divided, shows us the superior man who adds humility to humility. Even the great stream may be crossed with this, and there will be good fortune.

2. The second line, divided, shows us humility that has made itself recognized. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows the superior man of acknowledged merit. He will maintain his success to the end, and have good fortune.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one, whose action would be in every way advantageous, stirring up the more his humility.

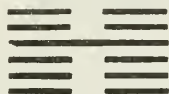
5. The fifth line, divided, shows one who, without being rich, is able to employ his neighbors. He may advantageously use the force of arms. All his movements will be advantageous.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows us humility that has made itself recognized. The subject of it will with advan-

¹⁵ An essay on humility, rightly follows that on abundant possessions. The third line, which is a whole line amid five others divided, occupying the topmost place in the lower trigram, is held by the Khang-hsi editors and many others to be "the lord of the hexagram," the representative of humility, strong, but abasing itself.

tage put his hosts in motion; but he will only punish his own towns and State.

XVI. THE YU HEXAGRAM ¹⁶



Yu indicates that, in the State which it implies, feudal princes may be set up, and the hosts put in motion, with advantage.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject proclaiming his pleasure and satisfaction. There will be evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows one who is firm as a rock. He sees a thing without waiting till it has come to pass; with his firm correctness there will be good fortune.

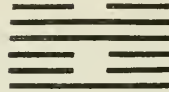
3. The third line, divided, shows one looking up for favors, while he indulges the feeling of pleasure and satisfaction. If he would understand! — If he be late in doing so, there will indeed be occasion for repentance.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows him from whom the harmony and satisfaction come. Great is the success which he obtains. Let him not allow suspicions to enter his mind, and thus friends will gather around him.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one with a chronic complaint, but who lives on without dying.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject with darkened mind devoted to the pleasure and satisfaction of the time; but if he change his course even when it may be considered as completed, there will be no error.

¹⁶ The *Yu* hexagram denoted to King Wan a condition of harmony and happy contentment throughout the kingdom, when the people rejoiced in and readily obeyed their sovereign. At such a time his appointments and any military undertakings would be hailed and supported. The fourth line, undivided, is the lord of the figure, and, being close to the fifth or place of dignity, is to be looked on as the minister or chief officer of the ruler. The ruler gives to him his confidence; and all represented by the other lines yield their obedience.

XVII. THE SUI HEXAGRAM ¹⁷

Sui indicates that under its conditions there will be great progress and success. But it will be advantageous to be firm and correct. There will then be no error.

1. The first line, undivided, shows us one changing the object of his pursuit; but if he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune. Going beyond his own gate to find associates, he will achieve merit.

2. The second line, divided, shows us one who cleaves to the little boy, and lets go the man of age and experience.

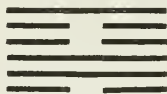
3. The third line, divided, shows us one who cleaves to the man of age and experience, and lets go the little boy. Such following will get what it seeks; but it will be advantageous to adhere to what is firm and correct.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows us one followed and obtaining adherents. Though he be firm and correct, there will be evil. If he be sincere, however, in his course, and make that evident, into what error will he fall?

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows us the ruler sincere in fostering all that is excellent. There will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows us that sincerity firmly held and clung to, yea, and bound fast. We see the king with it presenting his offerings on the western mountain.

¹⁷ *Sui* symbolizes the idea of "following." It is said to follow *Yu*, the symbol of harmony and satisfaction. Where there are these conditions men are sure to follow; nor will they follow those in whom they have no complacency. The hexagram includes the cases where one follows others, and where others follow him; and the auspice of great progress and success is due to this flexibility and applicability of it. But in both cases the following must be guided by a reference to what is proper and correct.

XVIII. THE KU HEXAGRAM ¹⁸

Ku indicates great progress and success to him who deals properly with the condition represented by it. There will be advantage in efforts like that of crossing the great stream. He should weigh well, however, the events of three days before the turning point, and those to be done three days after it.

1. The first line, divided, shows a son dealing with the troubles caused by his father. If he be an able son, the father will escape the blame of having erred. The position is perilous, but there will be good fortune in the end.

2. The second line, undivided, shows a son dealing with the troubles caused by his mother. He should not carry his firm correctness to the utmost.

3. The third line, undivided, shows a son dealing with the troubles caused by his father. There may be some small occasion for repentance, but there will not be any great error.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows a son viewing indulgently the troubles caused by his father. If he go forward, he will find cause to regret it.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows a son dealing with the troubles caused by his father. He obtains the praise of using the fit instrument for his work.

¹⁸ In the 6th Appendix it is said, "They who follow another are sure to have services to perform, and hence *Sui* is followed by *Ku*." But *Ku* means the having painful or troublesome services to do. It denotes here a state in which things are going to ruin, as if through poison or venomous worms; and the figure is supposed to describe the arrest of the decay and the restoration to soundness and vigor, so as to justify its auspice of great progress and success. To realize such a result, however, great efforts will be required, as in crossing the great stream; and a careful consideration of the events that have brought on the state of decay, and the measures to be taken to remedy it, is also necessary.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows us one who does not serve either king or feudal lord, but in a lofty spirit prefers to attend to his own affairs.

XIX. THE LIN HEXAGRAM ¹⁹



Lin indicates that under the conditions supposed in it there will be great progress and success, while it will be advantageous to be firmly correct. In the eighth month there will be evil.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject advancing in company with the subject of the second line. Through his firm correctness there will be good fortune.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject advancing in company with the subject of the first line. There will be good fortune; advancing will be in every way advantageous.

3. The third line, divided, shows one well pleased indeed to advance, but whose action will be in no way advantageous. If he become anxious about it, however, there will be no error.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one advancing in the highest mode. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the advance of wisdom, such as befits the great ruler. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows the advance of honesty and generosity. There will be good fortune, and no error.

¹⁹ In Appendix VI *Lin* is explained as meaning "great." *Lin* denotes the approach of authority—to inspect, to comfort, or to rule. When we look at the figure, we see two strong undivided lines advancing on the four weak lines above them, and thence follows the assurance that their action will be powerful and successful. That action must be governed by rectitude, however, and by caution grounded on the changing character of all conditions and events. The meaning of the concluding sentence is given in Appendix I as simply being—that, "the advancing power will decay in no long time."

XX. THE KWAN HEXAGRAM²⁰

Kwan shows how he whom it represents should be like the worshiper who has washed his hands, but not yet presented his offerings — with sincerity and an appearance of dignity, commanding reverent regard.

1. The first line, divided, shows the looking of a lad; not blamable in men of inferior rank, but matter for regret in superior men.

2. The second line, divided, shows one peeping out from a door. It would be advantageous if it were merely the firm correctness of a female.

3. The third line, divided, shows one looking at the course of his own life, to advance or recede accordingly.

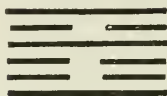
4. The fourth line, divided, shows one contemplating the glory of the kingdom. It will be advantageous for him, being such as he is, to seek to be a guest of the king.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject contemplating his own life-course. A superior man, he will thus fall into no error.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject contemplating his character to see if it be indeed that of a superior man. He will not fall into error.

²⁰ The Chinese character *Kwan*, from which this hexagram is named, is used in it in two senses. In the *Thwan*, the first paragraph of the treatise on the *Thwan*, and the paragraph on the Great Symbolism, it denotes "showing," "manifesting"; in all other places it denotes "contemplating," "looking at." The subject of the hexagram is the sovereign and his subjects, how he manifests himself to them, and how they contemplate him. The two upper, undivided, lines belong to the sovereign; the four weak lines below them are his subjects — ministers and others who look up at him. *Kwan* is the hexagram of the eighth month.

In the *Thwan* King Wan symbolizes the sovereign by a worshiper when he is most solemn in his religious service, at the commencement of it, full of sincerity and with a dignified carriage.

XXI. THE SHIH HO HEXAGRAM²¹

Shih Ho indicates successful progress in the condition of things which it supposes. It will be advantageous to use legal constraints.

1. The first line, undivided, shows one with his feet in the stocks and deprived of his toes. There will be no error.

2. The second line, divided, shows one biting through the soft flesh, and going on to bite off the nose. There will be no error.

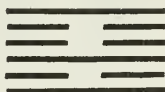
3. The third line, divided, shows one gnawing dried flesh, and meeting with what is disagreeable. There will be occasion for some small regret, but no great error.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows one gnawing the flesh dried on the bone, and getting the pledges of money and arrows. It will be advantageous to him to realize the difficulty of his task and be firm; in which case there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one gnawing at dried flesh, and finding the yellow gold. Let him be firm and correct, realizing the peril of his position. There will be no error.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows one wearing the cangue, and deprived of his ears. There will be evil.

²¹ *Shih Ho* means, literally, "Union by gnawing." We see in the figure two strong lines in the first and last places, while all the others, with the exception of the fourth, are divided. This suggests the idea of the jaws and the mouth between them kept open by something in it. Let that be gnawed through and the mouth will close and the jaws come together. So in the body politic. Remove the obstacles to union, and high and low will come together with a good understanding. And how are those obstacles to be removed? By force, emblemed by the gnawing; that is, by legal constraints. And these are sure to be successful. The auspice of the figure is favorable. There will be success.

XXII. THE PI HEXAGRAM²²

Pi indicates that there should be free course in what it denotes. There will be little advantage, however, if it be allowed to advance and take the lead.

1. The first line, undivided, shows one adorning the way of his feet. He can discard a carriage and walk on foot.

2. The second line, divided, shows one adorning his beard.

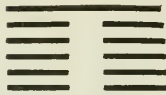
3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject with the appearance of being adorned and bedewed with rich favors. But let him ever maintain his firm correctness, and there will be good fortune.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one looking as if adorned, but only in white. As if mounted on a white horse, and furnished with wings, he seeks union with the subject of the first line, while the intervening third pursues, not as a robber, but intent on a matrimonial alliance.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject adorned by the occupants of the heights and gardens. He bears his roll of silk, small and slight. He may appear stingy; but there will be good fortune in the end.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows one with white as his only ornament. There will be no error.

²²The character *Pi* is the symbol of what is ornamental and of the act of adorning. As there is ornament in nature, so should there be in society; but its place is secondary to that of what is substantial. This is the view of King Wan in his *Thwan*. The symbolism of the separate lines is sometimes fantastic.

XXIII. THE PO HEXAGRAM²³

Po indicates that in the state which it symbolizes it will not be advantageous to make a movement in any direction whatever.

1. The first line, divided, shows one overturning the couch by injuring its legs. The injury will go on to the destruction of all firm correctness, and there will be evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows one overthrowing the couch by injuring its frame. The injury will go on to the destruction of all firm correctness, and there will be evil.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject among the overthrowers; but there will be no error.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject having overthrown the couch, and going to injure the skin of him who lies on it. There will be evil.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject leading on the others like a string of fishes, and obtaining for them the favor that lights on the inmates of the palace. There will be advantage in every way.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject as a great fruit which has not been eaten. The superior man finds the people again as a chariot carrying him. The small men by their course overthrow their own dwellings.

²³ *Po* is the symbol of falling or of causing to fall, and may be applied, both in the natural and political world, to the process of decay, or that of overthrow. The figure consists of five divided lines, and one undivided, which last thus becomes the prominent and principal line in the figure. Decay or overthrow has begun at the bottom of it, and crept up to the top. The hexagram is that of the ninth month, when the beauty and glory of summer have disappeared, and the year is ready to fall into the arms of sterile winter. In the political world, small men have gradually displaced good men and great, till but one remains; and the lesson for him is to wait. The power operating against him is too strong; but the fashion of political life passes away. If he wait, a change for the better will shortly appear.

The lesser symbolism is chiefly that of a bed or couch with its

XXIV. THE FU HEXAGRAM ²⁴

Fu indicates that there will be free course and progress in what it denotes. The subject of it finds no one to distress him in his exits and entrances; friends come to him, and no error is committed. He will return and repeat his proper course. In seven days comes his return. There will be advantage in whatever direction movement is made.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject returning from an error of no great extent, which would not proceed to anything requiring repentance. There will be great good fortune.

occupant. The idea of the hexagram requires this occupant to be overthrown, or at least that an attempt be made to overthrow him. Accordingly the attempt in line 1 is made by commencing with the legs of the couch. The symbolism goes on to explain itself. The object of the evil worker is the overthrow of all firm correctness. Of course there will be evil.

²⁴*Fu* symbolizes the idea of returning, coming back or over again. The last hexagram showed us inferior prevailing over superior men, all that is good in nature and society yielding before what is bad. But change is the law of nature and society. When decay has reached its climax, recovery will begin to take place. In *Po* we had one strong topmost line, and five weak lines below it; here we have one strong line, and five weak lines above it. To illustrate the subject from what we see in nature, *Po* is the hexagram of the ninth month, in which the triumph of cold and decay in the year is nearly complete. It is complete in the tenth month, whose hexagram is *Khwan*; then follows our hexagram *Fu*, belonging to the eleventh month, in which was the winter solstice when the sun turned back in his course, and moved with a constant regular progress toward the summer solstice. In harmony with these changes of nature are the changes in the political and social state of a nation. There is nothing in the *Yi* to suggest the hope of a perfect society or kingdom that can not be moved.

The strong bottom line is the first of *Chan*, the trigram of movement, and the upper trigram is *Khwan*, denoting docility and capacity. The strong returning line will meet with no distressing obstacle, and the weak lines will change before it into strong, and be as friends. The bright quality will be developed brighter and brighter from day to day, and month to month.

2. The second line, divided, shows the admirable return of its subject. There will be good fortune.

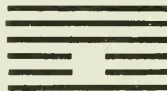
3. The third line, divided, shows one who has made repeated returns. The position is perilous, but there will be no error.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject moving right in the center among those represented by the other divided lines, and yet returning alone to his proper path.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the noble return of its subject. There will be no ground for repentance.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject all astray on the subject of returning. There will be evil. There will be calamities and errors. If with his views he put the hosts in motion, the end will be a great defeat, whose issues will extend to the ruler of the State. Even in ten years he will not be able to repair the disaster.

XXV. THE WU WANG HEXAGRAM ²⁵



Wu Wang indicates great progress and success, while there will be advantage in being firm and correct. If its subject and his action be not correct, he will fall into errors, and it will not be advantageous for him to move in any direction.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject free from all insincerity. His advance will be accompanied with good fortune.

2. The second line, divided, shows one who reaps without

²⁵ *Wang* is the symbol of being reckless, and often of being insincere; *Wu Wang* is descriptive of a state of entire freedom from such a condition; its subject is one who is entirely simple and sincere. The quality is characteristic of the action of Heaven, and of the highest style of humanity. In this hexagram we have an essay on this noble attribute. An absolute rectitude is essential to it. The nearer one comes to the ideal of the quality, the more powerful will be his influence, the greater his success. But let him see to it that he never swerve from being correct.

having plowed that he might reap, and gathers the produce of his third year's fields without having cultivated them the first year for that end. To such a one there will be advantage in whatever direction he may move.

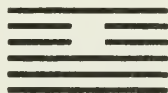
3. The third line, divided, shows calamity happening to one who is free from insincerity; as in the case of an ox that has been tied up. A passerby finds it and carries it off, while the people in the neighborhood have the calamity of being accused and apprehended.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows a case in which, if its subject can remain firm and correct, there will be no error.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows one who is free from insincerity, and yet has fallen ill. Let him not use medicine, and he will have occasion for joy in his recovery.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject free from insincerity, yet sure to fall into error, if he take action. His action will not be advantageous in any way.

XXVI. THE TA CHU HEXAGRAM ²⁶



Under the conditions of *Ta Chu* it will be advantageous to be firm and correct. If its subject do not seek to enjoy his revenues in his own family without taking service at court,

²⁶ *Chu* has two meanings. It is the symbol of restraint, and of accumulation. What is repressed and restrained accumulates its strength and increases its volume. Both these meanings are found in the treatise on the *Thwan*; the exposition of the Great Symbolism has for its subject the accumulation of virtue. The different lines are occupied with the repression or restraint of movement. The first three lines receive that repression, the upper three exercise it. The accumulation to which all tends is that of virtue; and hence the name of *Ta Chu*, "the Great Accumulation."

What the *Thwan* teaches is that he who goes about to accumulate his virtue must be firm and correct, and may then, engaging in the public service, enjoy the king's grace, and undertake the most difficult enterprises.

there will be good fortune. It will be advantageous for him to cross the great stream.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject in a position of peril. It will be advantageous for him to stop his advance.

2. The second line, undivided, shows a carriage with the strap under it removed.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject urging his way with good horses. It will be advantageous for him to realize the difficulty of his course, and to be firm and correct, exercising himself daily in his charioteering and methods of defense; then there will be advantage in whatever direction he may advance.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows the young bull, and yet having the piece of wood over his horns. There will be great good fortune.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the teeth of a castrated hog. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject as in command of the firmament of heaven. There will be progress.

XXVII. THE I HEXAGRAM ²⁷



I indicates that with firm correctness there will be good fortune in what is denoted by it. We must look at what

²⁷ *I* is the symbol of the upper jaw, and gives name to the hexagram; but the whole figure suggests the appearance of the mouth. There are the two undivided lines at the bottom and top, and the four divided lines between them. The first line is the first in the trigram *Chan*, denoting movement; and the sixth is the third in *Kan*, denoting what is solid. The former is the lower jaw, part of the mobile chin; and the other the more fixed upper jaw. The open lines are the cavity of the mouth. As the name of the hexagram, *I* denotes nourishing—one's body or mind, one's self or others. The nourishment in both the matter and method will differ according to the object of it; and every one must determine what to employ and do in every case by exercising his own thoughts, only one thing being promised—that in both respects the nourishing must be correct, and in

we are seeking to nourish, and by the exercise of our thoughts seek for the proper aliment.

1. The first line, undivided, seems to be thus addressed, "You leave your efficacious tortoise, and look at me till your lower jaw hangs down." There will be evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows one looking downward for nourishment, which is contrary to what is proper; or seeking it from the height above, advance toward which will lead to evil.

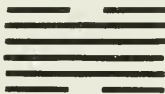
3. The third line, divided, shows one acting contrary to the method of nourishing. However firm he may be, there will be evil. For ten years let him not take any action, for it will not be in any way advantageous.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one looking downward for the power to nourish. There will be good fortune. Looking with a tiger's downward unwavering glare, and with his desire that impels him to spring after spring, he will fall into no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one acting contrary to what is regular and proper; but if he abide in firmness, there will be good fortune. He should not, however, try to cross the great stream.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows him from whom comes the nourishing. His position is perilous, but there will be good fortune. It will be advantageous to cross the great stream.

XVIII. THE TA KWO HEXAGRAM ²⁸



Ta Kwo suggests to us a beam that is weak. There will be advantage in moving under its conditions in any direction whatever; there will be success.

harmony with what is right. The auspice of the whole hexagram is good.

²⁸ Very extraordinary times require very extraordinary gifts in

1. The first line, divided, shows one placing mats of the white *mao* grass under things set on the ground. There will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows a decayed willow producing shoots, or an old husband in possession of his young wife. There will be advantage in every way.

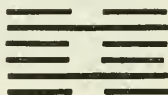
3. The third line, undivided, shows a beam that is weak. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows a beam curving upward. There will be good fortune. If the subject of it looks for other help but that of line one, there will be cause for regret.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows a decayed willow producing flowers, or an old wife in possession of her young husband. There will be occasion neither for blame nor for praise.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject with extraordinary boldness wading through a stream, till the water hides the crown of his head. There will be evil, but no ground for blame.

XXIX. THE KHAN HEXAGRAM ²⁹



Khan, here repeated, shows the possession of sincerity, through which the mind is penetrating. Action in accordance with this will be of high value.

the conduct of affairs in them. This is the text on which King Wan and his son discourse after their fashion in this hexagram. What goes, in their view, to constitute anything extraordinary is its greatness and difficulty. There need not be about it what is not right.

Looking at the figure we see two weak lines at the top and bottom, and four strong lines between them, giving us the idea of a great beam unable to sustain its own weight. But the second and fifth lines are both strong and in the center; and from this and the attributes of the component trigrams a good auspice is obtained.

²⁹ The trigram *Khan*, which is doubled to form this hexagram, is the lineal symbol of "water." Its meaning, as a character, is "a

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject in the double defile, and yet entering a cavern within it. There will be evil.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject in all the peril of the defile. He will, however, get a little of the deliverance that he seeks.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject, whether he comes or goes (*i.e.*, descends or ascends), confronted by a defile. All is peril to him and unrest. His endeavors will lead him into the cavern of the pit. There should be no action in such a case.

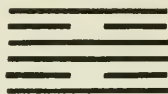
4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject at a feast, with simply a bottle of spirits, and a subsidiary basket of rice, while the cups and bowls are only of earthenware. He introduces his important lessons as his ruler's intelligence admits. There will in the end be no error.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the water of the defile not yet full, so that it might flow away; but order will soon be brought about. There will be no error.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject bound with cords of three strands or two strands, and placed in the thicket of thorns. But in three years he does not learn the course for him to pursue. There will be evil.

pit," "a perilous cavity, or defile"; and here and elsewhere in the *Yi* it leads the reader to think of a dangerous defile, with water flowing through it. It becomes symbolic of danger, and what the authors of the text had in mind was to show how danger should be encountered, its effect on the mind, and how to get out of it.

The trigram exhibits a strong central line, between two divided lines. The central represented to King Wan the sincere honesty and goodness of the subject of the hexagram, whose mind was sharpened and made penetrating by contact with danger, and who acted in a manner worthy of his character. It is implied, though the *Thwan* does not say it, that he would get out of the danger.

XXX. THE LI HEXAGRAM ³⁰

Li indicates that, in regard to what it denotes, it will be advantageous to be firm and correct, and that thus there will be free course and success. Let its subject also nourish a docility like that of the cow, and there will be good fortune.

1. The first line, undivided, shows one ready to move with confused steps. But he treads at the same time reverently, and there will be no mistake.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject in his place in yellow. There will be great good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject in a position like that of the declining sun. Instead of playing on his instrument of earthenware, and singing to it, he utters the groans of an old man of eighty. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows the manner of its subject's coming. How abrupt it is, as with fire, with death, to be rejected by all!

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject as one with

³⁰ *Li* is the name of the trigram representing fire and light, and the sun as the source of both of these. Its virtue or attribute is brightness, and by a natural metaphor intelligence. But *Li* has also the meaning of inhering in, or adhering to, being attached to. Both these significations occur in connection with the hexagram, and make it difficult to determine what was the subject of it in the minds of the authors. If we take the whole figure as expressing the subject, we have, as in the treatise on the *Thwan*, "a double brightness," a phrase which is understood to denominate the ruler. If we take the two central lines as indicating the subject, we have weakness, dwelling with strength above and below. In either case there are required from the subject a strict adherence to what is correct, and a docile humility. On the second member of the *Thwan* Chang-tze says: "The nature of the ox is docile, and that of the cow is much more so. The subject of the hexagram adhering closely to what is correct, he must be able to act in obedience to it, as docile as a cow, and then there will be good fortune."

tears flowing in torrents, and groaning in sorrow. There will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows the king employing its subject in his punitive expeditions. Achieving admirable merit, he breaks only the chiefs of the rebels. Where his prisoners were not their associates, he does not punish. There will be no error.

END OF THE FIRST PART OF THE YI KING

THE YI KING

APPENDIX V

TREATISE OF REMARKS ON THE TRIGRAMS

Chapter I. 1. Anciently, when the sages made the *Yi*, in order to give mysterious assistance to the spiritual Intelligences, they produced the rules for the use of the divining plant.

2. The number 3 was assigned to heaven, 2 to earth, and from these came the other numbers.

3. They contemplated the changes in the divided and undivided lines by the process of manipulating the stalks, and formed the trigrams; from the movements that took place in the strong and weak lines, they produced their teaching about the separate lines. There ensued a harmonious conformity to the course of duty and to virtue, with a discrimination of what was right in each particular case. They thus made an exhaustive discrimination of what was right, and effected the complete development of every nature, till they arrived in the *Yi* at what was appointed for it by Heaven.

Chapter II. 4. Anciently, when the sages made the *Yi*, it was with the design that its figures should be in conformity with the principles underlying the natures of men and things, and the ordinances for them appointed by Heaven. With this view they exhibited in them the way of heaven, calling the lines *yin* and *yang*; the way of earth, calling them the weak or soft and the strong or hard; and the way of men, under the names of benevolence and righteousness. Each trigram embraced those three Powers; and, being repeated, its full form consisted of six lines. A distinction was made of the places assigned to the *yin* and *yang* lines, which were variously occupied, now by the strong and now by the weak forms, and thus the figure of each hexagram was completed.

Chapter III. 5. The symbols of heaven and earth received

their determinate positions; those for mountains and collections of water interchanged their influences; those for thunder and wind excited each other the more; and those for water and fire did each other no harm. Then among these eight symbols there was a mutual communication.

6. The numbering of the past is a natural process; the knowledge of the coming is anticipation. Therefore in the *Yi* we have both anticipation and the natural process.

Chapter IV. 7. "Thunder" serves to put things in motion; "wind" to scatter the genial seeds of them; "rain" to moisten them; the "sun" to warm them; what is symbolized by *Kan*, to arrest and keep them in their places; by *Tui*, to give them joyful course; by *Chien*, to rule them; and by *Khwan*, to store them up.

Chapter V. 8.¹ God comes forth in *Chan* to his producing work; he brings his processes into full and equal action in *Sun*; they are manifested to one another in *Li*; the greatest service is done for him in *Khwan*; he rejoices in *Tui*; he struggles in *Chien*; he is comforted and enters into rest in *Khan*; and he completes the work of the year in *Kan*.

9. All things are made to issue for the *Chan*, which is placed at the east. The processes of production are brought into full and equal action in *Sun*, which is placed at the southeast. The being brought into full and equal action refers to the purity and equal arrangements of all things. *Li* gives the idea of brightness. All things are now made manifest to one another. It is the trigram of the south. The sages turn their faces to the south when they give audience

¹ Chapter V, paragraphs 8 and 9, sets forth the operations of nature in the various seasons, as being really the operations of God, who is named *Ti*, "the Lord and Ruler of Heaven." Those operations are represented in the progress by the seasons of the year, as denoted by the trigrams, according to the arrangement of them by King Wan. The "purity" predicated in paragraph 9 of things in *Sun*, was explained by Chang Khang-chang (our second century) as equivalent to "newness," referring to the brightness of all things in the light of spring and summer. On "all things receive from the earth their fullest nourishment" the same Yang, quoted above, says: "The earth performs the part of a mother. All things are its children. What a mother has to do for her children is simply to nourish them."

to all under the sky, administering government toward the region of brightness: the idea in this procedure was taken from this. *Khwan* denotes the earth, and is placed at the southwest. All things receive from it their fullest nourishment, and hence it is said, "The greatest service is done for him in *Khwan*." *Tui* corresponds to the west and to the autumn — the season in which all things rejoice. Hence it is said, "He rejoices in *Tui*." He struggles in *Chien*, which is the trigram of the northwest. The idea is that there the inactive and active conditions beat against each other. *Khan* denotes water. It is the trigram of the exact north — the trigram of comfort and rest, what all things are tending to. Hence it is said, "He is comforted and enters into rest in *Khan*." *Kan* is the trigram of the northeast. In it all things bring to a full end the issues of the past year, and prepare the commencement of the next. Hence it is said, "He completes the work of the year in *Kan*."

Chapter VI. 10.² When we speak of Spirit we mean the subtle presence and operation of God with all things. For putting all things in motion there is nothing more vehement than thunder; for scattering them there is nothing more

² Chapter VI is the sequel of the preceding. There ought to have been some mention of *Shan* or "Spirit" in chapter 5. It is the first character in this chapter, and the two characters that follow show that it is here resumed for the purpose of being explained. As it does not occur in chapter 5, we must suppose that the author of it here brings forward and explains the idea of it that was in his mind. Many of the commentators recognize this.

Two other peculiarities in the style of the chapter are pointed out and explained (after a fashion) by Tshui Ching (earlier, probably, than the Sung Dynasty): "The action of six of the trigrams is described, but no mention is made of *Chien* or *Khwan*. But heaven and earth do nothing, and yet do everything; hence they are able to perfect the spirit-like subtilty of the action of thunder, wind, and the other things. Moreover, we have the trigram *Kan* mentioned, the only one mentioned by its name, instead of our reading 'mountains.' The reason is, that the putting in motion, the scattering, the parching, and the moistening, are all the palpable effects of thunder, wind, fire, and water. But what is ascribed to *Kan*, the ending and the recommencing all things, is not so evident of mountains. On this account the name of the trigram is given, while the things in nature represented by the trigrams are given in those other cases. The style suitable in each case is employed."

effective than wind; for drying them up there is nothing more parching than fire; for giving them pleasure and satisfaction there is nothing more grateful than a lake or marsh; for moistening them there is nothing more enriching than water; for bringing them to an end and making them begin again there is nothing more fully adapted than *Kan*. Thus water and fire contribute together to the one object; thunder and wind do not act contrary to each other; mountains and collections of water interchange their influences. It is in this way, that they are able to change and transform, and to give completion to all things.

Chapter VII. 11. *Chien* is the symbol of strength; *Khwan*, of docility; *Chan*, of stimulus to movement; *Sun*, of penetration; *Khan*, of what is precipitous and perilous; *Li*, of what is bright and what is catching; *Kan*, of stoppage or arrest; and *Tui*, of pleasure and satisfaction.

Chapter VIII. 12.³ *Chien* suggests the idea of a horse; *Khwan*, that of an ox; *Chan*, that of the dragon; *Sun*, that of a fowl; *Khan*, that of a pig; *Li*, that of a pheasant; *Kan*, that of a dog; and *Tui*, that of a sheep.

Chapter IX. 13.⁴ *Chien* suggests the idea of the head; *Khwan*, that of the belly; *Chan*, that of the feet; *Sun*, that of the thighs; *Khan*, that of the ears; *Li*, that of the eyes; *Kan*, that of the hands, and *Tui*, that of the mouth.

Chapter X. 14. *Chien* is the symbol of heaven, and hence has the appellation of father. *Khwan* is the symbol of earth, and hence has the appellation of mother. *Chan* shows a first application of *Khwan* to *Chien*, resulting in getting the first of its male or undivided lines, and hence is called "the oldest son." *Sun* shows a first application of *Chien* to *Khwan*, resulting in getting the first of its female or divided lines,

³ Chapter VIII. In the Great Appendix, it is said that Fu-hsi, in making his trigrams, was guided by "the consideration of things apart from his own person." Of such things we have a specimen here. The creatures are assigned, in their classes, to the different trigrams, symbolizing the ideas in the last chapter. We must not make any difference of sex in translating their names.

⁴ Chapter IX. Fu-hsi found also "things near at hand, in his own person." while making the trigrams. We have here a specimen of such things.

and hence is called "the oldest daughter." *Khan* shows a second application of *Khwan* to *Chien*, resulting in getting the second of its male or undivided lines, and hence is called "the second son." *Li* shows a second application of *Chien* to *Khwan*, resulting in getting the second of its female or divided lines, and hence is called "the second daughter." *Kan* shows a third application of *Khwan* to *Chien*, resulting in getting the third of its male or undivided lines, and hence is called "the youngest son." *Tui* shows a third application of *Chien* to *Khwan*, resulting in getting the third of its female or divided lines, and hence is called "the youngest daughter."

Chapter XI. 15. *Chien* suggests the idea of heaven; of a circle; of a ruler; of a father; of jade; of metal; of cold; of ice; of deep red; of a good horse; of an old horse; of a thin horse; of a piebald horse; and of the fruit of trees.

16. *Khwan* suggests the idea of the earth; of a mother; of cloth; of a caldron; of parsimony; of a turning lathe; of a young heifer; of a large wagon; of what is variegated; of a multitude; and of a handle and support. Among soils it denotes what is black.

17. *Chan* suggests the idea of thunder; of the dragon; of the union of the azure and the yellow; of development; of a great highway; of the eldest son; of decision and vehemence; of bright young bamboos; of sedges and rushes; among horses, of the good neigher; of one whose white hind-leg appears, of the prancer, and of one with a white star in his forehead. Among the productions of husbandry it suggests the idea of what returns to life from its disappearance beneath the surface, of what in the end becomes the strongest, and of what is most luxuriant.

18. *Sun* suggests the idea of wood; of wind; of the oldest daughter; of a plumb-line; of a carpenter's square; of being white; of being long; of being lofty; of advancing and receding; of want of decision; and of strong scents. It suggests in the human body the idea of deficiency of hair; of a wide forehead; of a large development of the white of the eye. Among tendencies, it suggests the close pursuit of gain, even to making three hundred per cent. in the market.

19. *Khan* suggests the idea of water; of channels and ditches for draining and irrigation; of being hidden and lying concealed; of being now straight and now crooked; of a bow, and of a wheel. As referred to man, it suggests the idea of an increase of anxiety; of distress of mind; of pain in the ears; it is the trigram of the blood; it suggests the idea of what is red. As referred to horses, it suggests the idea of the horse with an elegant spine; of one with a high spirit; of one with a drooping head; of one with a thin hoof; and of one with a shambling step. As referred to carriages, it suggests one that encounters many risks. It suggests what goes right through; the moon; a thief. Referred to trees, it suggests that which is strong and firm-hearted.

20. *Li* suggests the emblem of fire; of the sun; of lightning; of the second daughter; of buff-coat and helmet; of spear and sword. Referred to men, it suggests the large belly. It is the trigram of a dryness. It suggests the emblem of a turtle; of a crab; of a spiral univalve; of the mussel; and of the tortoise. Referred to trees, it suggests one which is hollow and rotten above.

21. *Kan* suggests the emblem of a mountain; of a by-path; of a small rock; of a gateway; of the fruits of trees and creeping plants; of a porter or a eunuch; of the ring finger; of the dog; of the rat; of birds with powerful bills; among trees, of those which are strong, with many joints.

22. *Tui* suggests the emblem of a low-lying collection of water; of the youngest daughter; of a sorceress; of the mouth and tongue; of the decay and putting down of things in harvest; of the removal of fruits hanging from the stems or branches; among soils, of what is strong and salt; of a concubine; and of a sheep.⁵

⁵ Chapter XI may be made to comprehend all the paragraphs from the 15th to the end, and shows how universally the ideas underlying the Yi are diffused through the world of nature. The quality of the several trigrams will be found with more or less of truth, and with less or more of fancy, in the objects mentioned in connection with them.

THE FOUR GREAT BOOKS OF THE
PHILOSOPHERS

“None can know a man without knowing his utterances.”

— CONFUCIUS

THE FOUR GREAT BOOKS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

(INTRODUCTION)

CONFUCIUS THE SAGE, AND THE RELIGION OF CHINA

BY JAMES LEGGE

THE subject which I have undertaken is twofold: Confucius the Sage, and the Religion of China. I purposely worded the title so. Two errors are frequently fallen into about Confucius. Some writers represent him as the author of what I may call the State religion of his country; while others contend that his teaching is merely a system of morality, without the element of religion. I have thought it would be well if I constructed my discussion so as to correct both those errors, and give you, so far as space will permit, some information as to who and what Confucius was, and what was the nature of that religion which was his by inheritance. We shall thus see how the two errors about him have arisen, be able to form an opinion as to the service which he did for China and the world, and also to pass a judgment as to the religious beliefs and practises which have obtained among the Chinese people from time immemorial.

First, then, let me speak to you of Confucius, giving you a brief sketch of his history, character, and teachings, without bringing in the subject of religion. I need hardly tell you that the name Confucius is merely the Latinized form of the three Chinese words K'ung Fu-tsze, meaning "The Master K'ung," equivalent, in the mouths of his disciples, to "Our Master K'ung," and accepted generally as the denomination of him as the most distinguished, or among the most distinguished, of all human teachers. He was emphatically a teacher. He was not a hero, whose history can be made in-

teresting by a record of his military prowess, nor a man of science, who enlarged the boundaries of knowledge and opened the way to new triumphs of man over nature. He was the sage, the man of calm and practical wisdom, inspired by the love of mankind, and inculcating the lessons of human duty.

His surname, as I have just intimated, was K'ung; and his birth took place in the year 551 B.C., in what was then the feudal State of Lu, a portion of what is now the province of Shan-tung, on the eastern seaboard of China. But though he was born in Lu, his family had migrated thither from the duchy of Sung, in the present province of Ho-nan. The K'ung clan was a branch of the ducal House of Sung, which itself was descended from the kings of the dynasty of Shang, who had ruled from 1766 to 1123 B.C., and who traced their lineage back to Hwang Ti, the first year of whose reign is said to have been in 2697 B.C. There are tens of thousands of K'ungs now living, who boast of being descended from Confucius, and who have thus an ancestry going back into the mists of antiquity more than four thousand five hundred years ago. Between the K'ungs and another more powerful clan of Sung there was an hereditary enmity; and the great-grandfather of our subject fled in consequence to the marquissate of Lu, and settled there. Confucius's father, called Shu-liang Hih, is known to us as sustaining an honorable position, and an officer of extraordinary strength and bravery. We are told that, in the year 562 B.C., when serving at the siege of a place called Pih-yang, a party of the assailants made their way in at a gate which had purposely been left open, and that no sooner were they inside than the portcullis was dropped. Hih was entering with the others; but, catching the massive structure with both his hands he gradually by his great strength raised it, and held it up till all his friends had turned and made their escape out. In his old age, for reasons into a detail of which I need not go, he divorced his wife, and contracted a second marriage with a young lady of the family of Yen, of whom Confucius was born in 551 B.C., as I have said.

The old father died soon afterward, when the boy was in his third year; and his mother and he were left in straitened circumstances. The lad developed early the tendencies of his character. He has left us a very brief account of his mental growth, saying that at fifteen his mind was set on learning, and that at seventy he could do whatever his heart prompted, confident that it was right. When his mother died, in his twenty-third or twenty-fourth year, he raised the coffin in which, probably on account of her poverty, she had buried her husband near the place where they lived, and took it and her coffin to the place in which the K'ungs had first found refuge in Lu, and laid them there in the same grave. Before his mother's death he had married himself; and he appears to have lived with his wife happily enough for about fifty years. There is no sufficient evidence that he divorced her, as has been alleged, or ever introduced a concubine into his family. So far as his own practise is concerned, Confucius was a monogamist. His children were not many. He had one son, merely an ordinary, average man, but who left a son superior to himself, and to whom we are indebted for the most complete and philosophical account of his grandfather's teachings. Mention is made, in the Confucian "Analects," Book V., of a daughter, whom he married to an officer that had been imprisoned under a false charge, but of whose worthiness Confucius was convinced; and in a smaller cemetery adjoining that where he, his son and grandson were buried, there is the grave of another daughter, who died when she was quite young. These appear to have been all his children. Probably in his twenty-second year Confucius commenced his labors as a teacher in his native village. But he was not what we call a schoolmaster, teaching boys the rudiments of education. His house was the resort of young and inquiring spirits, whose attention he directed to the ancient monuments of the nation's history and literature, unfolding to them at the same time the principles of human duty and of government. This was the work of his life, for he neither wrote nor instituted much himself. His first biographer, the historian Sze-ma Ch'ien, says that "he wrote

a Preface to the Book of History; carefully digested the Rites and Ceremonies determined by the wisdom of the ancient Sages and Kings; collected and arranged the ancient Poems; and undertook the reform of Music." But Confucius's labors on the ancient writings appear to have been slight, and there is no reliable ground for supposing that he either added to or took from the Books of History and Rites, which had come down to his time. The only work which he claimed as his own was the "Chronicle of the Spring and Autumn," which can only be considered a meager compilation, and would have little interest but for the three Supplements to it by other hands which have also been preserved. Perhaps he made some alterations in the Book of Poetry, for he says himself, "I returned from Wei to Lu, and then the music was reformed; and the pieces in the Imperial Songs and Praise Songs found all their proper place."

His disciples, first and last, numbered, it is said, three thousand; and among them there were between seventy and eighty whom he highly valued, and praised as "scholars of extraordinary ability." From the time that he thus comes before us on the stage of public life, and especially during the long period of wandering among different States that subsequently befell him, he always appears attended by companies of his disciples. These must have supported him. In his earlier school he received all who came to him for instruction, and did not refuse the smallest fee; but he required from all an ardent desire for improvement and a good measure of capacity. It is difficult for us, however, to understand this feature of his course — how, while dependent on the sympathy and support of his followers, he yet maintained among them the most entire authority and independence. When Mencius, who is styled "the secondary Sage," came after him, about a century and a half later, and went about the country in the same way, enforcing the lessons of "the Master," he accepted the gifts of different princes to an extent that startled even his disciples. But Confucius never did so. He would not demean himself to receive help from a ruler whom he disapproved, and who would not carry out

his principles in the government of his people. Confucius must have been supported by the free-will contributions of his disciples. This point in the study of his course has often suggested to me the passage in the Gospel of Luke where it says (chapter viii. 1-3) that Jesus "went about through cities and villages, preaching the good tidings of the kingdom of God, and with him the twelve, and certain women that had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities: Mary Magdalene and Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, which ministered to them of their substance."

A noble by descent, and soon widely known for his attainments, Confucius might have expected to be called to a position in the government of the States. But the time was one of great corruption and disorder. The general government of the kingdom was feeble, and every feudal State was torn by contentions between its ruler and the chiefs of the clans in it, as well as by collisions between those clans themselves. We find him, indeed, when he was about twenty, employed as keeper of the stores of grain, and in charge of some public fields and herds; but, according to Mencius, he undertook those humble offices because of his poverty, and contented himself with the simple discharge of their duties. Still his character and reputation were gradually making themselves felt through the State. He found means to visit the capital of the kingdom, and examine many of its most remarkable monuments; and there he met and also conversed with Lao-tsze, the prophet of Taoism. He was able also to take refuge for a time from the disorders of Lu in the neighboring State of Ch'i. At last, when he was over fifty, he was made governor of one of the towns of Lu. There his administration was so successful that he was soon raised to higher dignities, and at last became Minister of Crime for the whole State. "He strengthened," we are told, "the ruling house, and weakened the usurping chiefs. A transforming government went abroad. Dishonesty and dissoluteness were ashamed, and hid their heads. Loyalty and good faith became the characteristics of the men, and chastity and

docility those of the women. Confucius became the idol of the people, and flew in songs through their mouths. The people of other States flocked in crowds to Lu, to enjoy the blessing of its good order." But this sky of bright promise was soon overcast. The other States became jealous of the prosperity of Lu, and afraid of the influence of its Minister of Crime. The Marquis of Ch'i, the nearest of them, succeeded, by a most scandalous scheme, in alienating the mind of the ruler of Lu from his wise counselor. Confucius became convinced that it was unbecoming his character to continue longer in the State. Slowly and sorrowfully he left it, and in 496 B.C. went forth with a company of his disciples, to thirteen years of homeless wandering, trying to find a ruler who had ears to hear his instructions, and goodness and wisdom to follow them. The quest was in vain; but the record of his experiences during that long and painful time is full of interest.

More than once he and the faithful few who would not leave him were in danger of perishing from want, or at the hands of excited mobs. On one occasion, when they were surrounded by an infuriated multitude and the disciples were alarmed, he calmly said to them, "Heaven produced the virtue that is in me. What can these people do to me?" This was always the way in which Confucius spoke in his highest utterances about himself. He never claimed to be anything more than man; but he felt that he had a divine mission. He knew the Way — the way for the individual to perfect himself and the way for governors to rule so as to make their people happy and good. To teach this was his mission, and he would be faithful to it to the last. In the midst of his disciples, famishing and frightened, he was always calm, and cheered them, singing to his lute.

We can not doubt that he was well skilled in the music of his time and country, and found in it for himself and his followers a solace and source of strength; but it is important to keep in mind that he never claimed to possess any supernatural endowments. There are passages, indeed, in Sze-ma Ch'ien's Biography which ascribe to him a knowledge such

as nobody else possessed; but, where they are most evidently legendary and ridiculous, they yet come short of anything approaching to the supernatural or miraculous. When a high officer was once complimenting the disciples on the various ability of their master, Confucius said, "When I was young, my condition was low, and so I acquired my ability in many things; but they were mean matters. Must the superior man have such variety of ability? He does not need it." On the subject of his knowledge, again, he said, "I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge; I am one who is fond of antiquity, and earnest in seeking it there."

When traveling with his disciples, the wanderer occasionally came across recluses, men who had withdrawn from the world in disgust, and derided him, always striving, and striving in vain, with his plans of reformation. "Than follow one who withdraws from this ruler and that, had you not better follow those who withdraw from the world altogether?" said one of those recluses to a disciple. When his words were reported to the Master, he said, "It is impossible to associate with birds and beasts. If I associate not with the people, with whom shall I associate? If the right way prevailed in the world, there would be no need for me to change its state."

At length Confucius was recalled to Lu, in 483 B.C., but he was now in his sixty-ninth year. Only five years more remained to him. He hardly reentered public life, but devoted the time to completing his literary tasks. His son died in 482, but he bore that event with more equanimity than he did the death of his favorite disciple, Yen Hui, in the year following. His own death took place in the spring of 478. The account which we have of it is the following: Early one morning he got up; and with his hands behind him, and trailing his staff, he moved about by the door, crooning over —

"The great mountain must crumble,
The strong beam must break,
And the wise man wither away like a plant."

After a little he entered the house, and sat down opposite the door. The disciple Tsze-kung, who was in attendance on him, had heard the words, and said to himself, "I am afraid the master is going to be ill." With this he hastened into the house, when Confucius told him a dream which he had had in the night, and which he thought presaged his death, adding, "No intelligent monarch arises; there is no ruler in the kingdom who will make me his master; my time has come to die." So it was. He took to his couch, and after seven days expired.

Such was the death of the great sage of China. His end was not unimpressive, but it was melancholy. He uttered no prayer, and he betrayed no apprehension. "The mountain falling came to naught, and the rock was removed out of its place. So death prevailed against him, and he passed. His countenance was changed, and he was sent away."

I have thus given a very condensed outline of the events of Confucius's life. Of his personal appearance, his habits, and his sayings we have abundant details in the records of his disciples. He was tall; methodical, doing everything in the proper way, time, and place. He was nice in his eating, but not a great eater. He was not a total abstainer from spirituous drink, but he never took too much. To confine myself to what they tell us of him as a teacher: They found him free from foregone conclusions, arbitrary determinations, obstinacy, and egoism; he would not talk with them about extraordinary things, feats of strength, rebellious disorder, and spiritual beings; he frequently discoursed to them about the Books of Poetry and History and the Rules of Propriety; there were three things, he said, in which the greatest caution was required — fasting (as preparatory to sacrifice), going to war, and the treatment of disease; he insisted on their cultivating letters, ethics, leal-heartedness, and truthfulness; and there were three things on which he seldom dwelt — the profitable, the decrees of Heaven, and perfect virtue.

He held that society was made up of five relationships — those of husband and wife, of parent and child, of elder and younger brother, or generally of elders and younger, of ruler

THE CHINESE CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS.

The twelve thousand cells in Canton where candidates for government service are shut up in solitude to answer examination questions.



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and minister or subject, and of friend and friend. A country would be well governed when all the parties in those relationships performed their parts aright; though I must think that he allowed too much to the authority of the higher party in each of them. I do not mean to say that there was no such moral teaching in the literature of China before his time. There was much, but he invested it all with a new grace and dignity. His greatest achievement, however, in his moral teaching was his inculcation of the Golden Rule, which he delivered at least five separate times. Tsze-kung once asked him whether there were any one word which might serve as a rule of practise for all one's life. His reply was, "Is there not *shu*?" that is, "reciprocity," or "altruism"; and he added the explanation of it: "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." The same disciple on another occasion saying that he observed the rule, Confucius simply remarked, "Ah! you have not attained to that!" He tells us, indeed, in one important passage — and we do not think the worse of him for the acknowledgment — that he was not able himself to follow the rule in its positive form in any one of the relationships.

Many of his short sayings are admirable in their pith and sagacity. What could be better than these? —

"Learning without thought is labor lost; thought without learning is perilous."

"It is only the truly virtuous who can love or hate others."

"Can there be love which does not lead to strictness in the training of its object? Can there be loyalty which does not lead to the instruction of its object?"

"To be poor without murmuring is difficult; to be rich without being proud is easy."

Some of his sayings, indeed, are somewhat enigmatical. For instance, "Let a good man teach the people seven years, and they may then likewise be employed in war"; and again, "To lead an uninstructed people to war is to throw them away." But from these commentators deduce the lesson that when a people are well trained in a knowledge of all their duties, they will be prepared to die for their country and

king. The more educated the lower classes of a people are, however, the less likely are they to allow themselves to be led by their superiors to the battle-field.

There was nothing he liked to set forth so much as the character of his superior or ideal man. Take a few of his deliverances on this subject: "The superior man is catholic, and not a partisan." "He does what is proper to the position in which he is; he does not desire to go beyond it. He finds himself in no position in which he is not himself." I will give you one more specimen, and only one: "The scholar considers leal-heartedness and good faith to be his coat of mail and helmet, propriety and righteousness to be his shield and buckler; he walks along, bearing over his head benevolence; he dwells holding righteousness in his arms before him; the government may be violently oppressive, but he does not change his course: such is the way in which he maintains himself."

It may occur to you that, notwithstanding all I have said, Confucius does not appear to you in any other character but as an ethical teacher of great merit. He enunciated, for instance, as we have seen, the Golden Rule; but he did not, or would not, appreciate the still higher rule, when his attention was called to it, that good should be returned for injury or evil, and that the evil will thereby be overcome. This loftiest of all maxims was enunciated by Lao-tze, and when submitted to Confucius, his judgment on it was, "With what, then, will you recompense good or kindness? Recompense injury with justice, and kindness with kindness." And when the subject subsequently came before him in his intercourse with his disciples, he never advanced beyond that deliverance. Again, while Confucius taught truthfulness, there are many passages in the "Spring and Autumn," which he claimed especially as his own work, that awaken doubts as to its historical veracity. But, after all, these charges are not very heavy, and he would have recked little of them himself. When he was once charged with slighting an important rule of propriety, all that he said in reply was, "I am fortunate. If I have any errors, people are sure to know them."

You will not be sorry to hear the magnificent eulogium which his grandson pronounced on the ideal sage and king, being understood to have had Confucius in his mind:

“ Possessed of all sagely qualities, showing himself quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence and all-embracing knowledge, he was fitted to exercise rule; magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild, fitted to exercise forbearance; impulsive, energetic, firm, and enduring, fitted to maintain a strong hold; self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the Mean and correct, fitted to command reverence; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative, and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination. Therefore his fame overspreads the Middle Kingdom, and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach, wherever the strength of man penetrates, wherever the heaven overshadows and the earth sustains, wherever the sun and moon shine, wherever frosts and dews fall, all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honor and love him.”

Let me pass on now to consider what is the nature of the religion of China — what it was in the very earliest times, and what it continues substantially to be at the present day. As we succeed in the study and exhibition of this, we shall discover more clearly the deep foundation of the moral teaching of Confucius, and wherein the religion itself fails to supply to the Chinese people all that is necessary for the nourishment of their spiritual being and the making of them what they ought to be.

There have been from time immemorial two sacrificial services in China: one addressed to the Supreme Being, and the other to the spirits of the dead. I call them *sacrificial* services in accordance with the general usage of writers on the subject; but we must not import into the words “sacrifice” and “sacrificial” all the ideas which *we* attach to them. The most common term for “sacrifice” in Chinese is *tsi*, and the most general idea symbolized by it is an offering whereby communication and communion with spiritual beings are effected. The offerings, we are told, and the language employed in presenting them, were for the purpose of

prayer, or of thanksgiving, or of deprecation. Our meaning of substitution and propitiation does not enter into the term, excepting in the sense of making propitious and friendly.

I will speak first of the former service.

The earliest name for the Supreme Being among the Chinese fathers appears to have been *Thien*, or "Heaven." When the framers of their characters made one to denote "Heaven" they fashioned it from two already existing characters, representing "one" and "great," signifying the vast and bright firmament, overspreading and embracing all, and from which came the light, heat, and rain which rendered the earth beneath fruitful and available for the support and dwelling of man and all other living beings on its surface. But their minds did not rest in the material, or, I might almost say, the immaterial sky. The name soon became symbolical to them of a Power and Ruler, a spiritual Being, whom they denominated *Ti*, "God," and *Shang Ti*, "the supreme God." I can not render these terms in English in any other way. The Chinese dictionaries tell us that *Ti* represents the ideas of lordship and rule. So it was that the name for the "sky" which they beheld became to the earliest Chinese personal, as the denomination of their concept of God.

The worship of God was associated with a worship of the more prominent objects of nature, such as heaven and earth, the sun and moon, the starry host, hills and streams, forests and valleys. It has been contended from this that the most ancient religion of the Chinese was a worship of the objects of nature. I do not think it was so, and I am supported in my opinion by the express testimony of Confucius, that "by the ceremonies of the sacrifices to heaven and earth they served God." These words supply an instance of his infrequent use of the personal name, which he employed, I suppose, to give greater emphasis to his declaration. If it was so in the worship of those greatest objects of nature, much more must it have been so in that of the inferior objects. Even though the presidency of those objects may be ignorantly and superstitiously assigned to different spiritual

Beings, the prayers to them show that the worship of them is still a service of God. In a prayer, for instance, to the Cloud-master, the Rain-master, the Lord of the Winds, and the Thunder-master, it is said, "It is yours, O Spirits, to superintend the clouds and the rain, and to raise and send abroad the winds, as ministers assisting the supreme God." To the spirits of all the hills and rivers under the sky, again, it is said, "It is yours, O Spirits, with your Heaven-conferred powers and nurturing influences, each to preside over one district, as ministers assisting the Great Worker and Transformer."

Thus then I may affirm that the religion of China was, and is, a monotheism, disfigured indeed by ignorance and superstition, but still a monotheism, based on the belief in one Supreme Being, of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things.

Very soon that religion became a State-worship, and in doing so it took a peculiar form. The only performer allowed in it is "the One man," the sovereign of the nation himself. Its celebration, moreover, is limited to a few occasions, the greatest being that at the winter solstice. Then the service is, or ought to be, an acknowledgment by the Emperor, for himself, his line, and the people, of their obligations to God. It is said of this ceremony, that it is "the utmost expression of reverence" and "the greatest act of thanksgiving." It may have degenerated into a mere formality, but there is the original idea underlying it. It grew probably from the earliest patriarchal worship, though there is no record of that in Chinese literature. The sovereign stands forth in it, both the father and priest of his people. I do not term him the *high*-priest, for there is no other priest in all the empire. No one is allowed in the same direct manner to sacrifice to God. There never has been in China a priestly class or caste.

Only on one other point in this connection will I touch: the relation between men and God as their Governor and the connection between the religion and morality. King Thang, the founder of the Shang Dynasty in 1766 B.C., thus spoke:

“The great God has conferred even on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right. To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate is the work of the sovereign.” Much to the same effect spoke Wu, the first king of the Chau Dynasty, in 1122 B.C.: “He even, to help the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them instructors, who should be assisting to God, so as to secure tranquillity throughout the nation.” Thus government is from God and teaching is from God. They are both divine ordinances. The king and the sage are equally God’s ministers, having their respective functions; and they have no other divine right to their positions but that which arises from the fulfilment of their duties. The dynasty that does not rule so as to secure the well-being of the people has forfeited its right to the throne. An old poet, celebrating the rise of the dynasty of which he was a scion, thus sang:

“Oh! great is God; his glance on earth he bent,
Scanning our regions with severe intent
For one whose rule the people should content.

“The earlier lines of kings had practised ill,
And ruling, ruled not after God’s just will;
He therefore ’mong the States was searching still.”

So it was with the sovereign; and as for the teacher, if he did not set forth aright the will of God, he had no function at all.

See the application of all this to the case of Confucius and the religious character which it imparts to his moral teachings. The treatise of his grandson, to which I have already alluded, commences with this sentence:

“What Heaven has conferred” (on man) “is called his nature; an accordance with this nature is called the path” (of duty); “the regulation of this path is called the system of instruction.” Now who ever sought to regulate the path of duty by his instructions as our sage did? In doing so, he taught man indeed to act in accordance with his nature; but in accordance with that nature was the fulfilment of the

will of Heaven. The idea of Heaven or God as man's Maker and Governor was fundamental to the teachings of Confucius; and on this account I contend that those who see in him only a moral teacher do not understand him. What he said was with a divine sanction; and they who neglected and disobeyed his lessons were, as he said, "offending against Heaven, and had none to whom they could pray."

And further, the account which I have given of the State religion supplies probably the true reason why Confucius generally spoke of Heaven, and seldom used the personal name "God." We ought to find the expressions of a devout reverence and submission in such utterances as the following: "Alas! there is no one that knows me. But I do not murmur against Heaven, nor grumble against men. There is Heaven! That knows me."

But I hasten on to speak, next and finally, of that other worship — if we should call it so — the sacrifices to ancestors and to others not of the same line as their worshippers.

How this worship took its rise, I am unable to say. Herbert Spencer holds that "the rudimentary form of all religion is the propitiation of dead ancestors who are supposed to be still existing, and to be capable of working good or evil to their descendants." This view is open to the criticism which I made on the Confucian sacrifices generally — that our idea of propitiation is not in them. It is not found either in those to the supreme Being or in those to the dead.

Of course sacrificing to the dead involves a belief in the continued existence of the souls or spirits of men after their life on earth has come to a close, and also that they continue in the possession of their higher faculties, so as to be conscious of the services rendered to them, and to be able to exercise an influence on the condition of their descendants and others in the world.

Sacrificing to the departed great, who were not of the same line as their worshippers, admits of an easy explanation. It is a grateful recognition of the services which they rendered to their own times and for all time. In the "Record of Ritual Usages" we read, "According to the Institutes of the

Sage Kings, sacrifices should be offered to him who had given laws to the people, to him who had persevered to the death in the discharge of his duties, to him who had strengthened the State by his laborious toil, to him who had boldly and successfully met great calamities, and to him who had warded off great evils. Only men of this character were admitted to the sacrificial canon."

Confucius has a distinguished place in this sacrificial service. Twice a year, on a certain day in the middle months of spring and autumn, the reigning emperor should go in state to the Imperial College in Peking, and present the appointed offerings before the spirit tablets of Confucius, and of the worthies who have been associated with him in his temples. The first prayer on the occasion in the canon of 1826, greeting the approach of the spirit of the sage, is to the following effect: "This year, in this month, on this day, I, the Emperor, offer sacrifice to the philosopher K'ung, the ancient teacher, the perfect sage, and say, O teacher, in virtue equal to Heaven and Earth, whose doctrines embrace the time past and present, thou didst digest and transmit the six Classics, and didst hand down thy lessons for all generations! Now in this second month of spring (or autumn), in reverent observance of the old statutes, with victims, silks, spirits and fruits, I offer sacrifice to thee. With thee are associated the philosopher Yen, continuator of thee, the philosopher Tsang, exhibitor of thy fundamental principles; the philosopher Tsze-sze, transmitter of thee, and the philosopher Mang, the second to thee, may'st thou enjoy the offerings!"

I used to think that Confucius in this service received religious worship, and denounced it. But I was wrong. What he received was the homage of gratitude, and not the worship of adoration. There is a danger of such homage being productive of evil, and leading to superstition and idolatry; but it will not be easily eradicated from the customs of China. We have a remarkable instance of the bad consequences springing from it in the exaltation for the last three

centuries of Kwan Yu, an upright, likable warrior of our third century, to be really, so far as the title is concerned, "the god Kwan"—the god of war.

But I return to the worship of ancestors. That is insisted on in the Confucian teaching as the consummating tribute of filial piety, the virtue which in China occupies the first place in the scale of human excellences. A great virtue it is undoubtedly, but it is exaggerated by the Chinese; and the exaggeration has been on the whole perhaps injurious to the prosperity and progress of the nation.

Certain sayings of Confucius have often been pointed out as showing that he was not satisfied in his own mind as to the continued existence of the dead, or that their spirits really had knowledge of the sacrificial services rendered to them; but I will not enter now on a discussion of them. We are not certain how we should understand them, and he was himself strict in the performance of the services. "He sacrificed to the dead," we are told, "as if they were present, and to the spirits as if they were there." If he were prevented from being present at such a service, and had to employ another to take his place, he considered his absence to be equivalent to his not sacrificing.

At the sacrifice small tablets of wood with the names of the deceased to whom they were dedicated written on them were set up, and called the spirit-tablets, which the spirits were supposed to take possession of for the time. They were ordinarily in an apartment behind the sacrificial hall, and brought out for the occasion. They were returned to their place when the service was over, and the spirits were supposed to have left the temple for their place. But where was their place? Where and in what condition do the spirits of the departed exist?

For one thing, they are believed to be in heaven, and in the presence of God. A very famous name in China was that of King Wan, whose career led to his son's becoming the first sovereign of the Chau Dynasty; and of him after his death it was sung:

“The royal Wan now rests on high,
 In dignity above the sky;
 Chau as a State had long been known;
 Heaven’s choice of it at last was shown.
 Its lords had gained a famous name;
 God kinged them when the season came.
 King Wan ruled well when earth he trod;
 Now moves his spirit near to God.”

In the same way the emperors of the present Manchu line speak of their departed fathers. The concluding hymn for the worship of them in the ancestral temple in the canon of 1826 may be thus rendered:

“Now ye confront, now ye pass by,
 Unbound by conditions of place;
 Here ye descend, there ye ascend,
 Nor leave of your movements a trace.
 Still and deep is the chamber behind;
 How restful and blessed its space!
 Their home have your spirits in heaven,
 The shrines there their tablets embrace.
 A myriad years their course shall run,
 Nor e’er our filial thoughts efface.”

For another thing, the spirits of the departed become tutelary guardians of their posterity, dispensing blessings on them if they pursue the course of well-doing, and punishing them if they do wrong, subject, however, in both cases to the will of God.

But what does the Confucian religion of China teach concerning the future state of bad sovereigns and bad men generally? I may almost reply to this question, “Absolutely nothing.” Its oracles are dumb on this interesting and important point. There is no purgatory and no hell in the Confucian literature.

There had grown up even before the time of the Sage a doctrine that the retribution of good and evil takes place in time and he himself derived no little benefit in his own career from it. The distinction between good and evil is never obscured, nor the different issues of the one and the other. Every moralist writes as if he had been charged, like Isaiah, to “say of the righteous that it shall be well with him, for the reward of his hands shall be given him, and of the

wicked, Woe unto the wicked ; it shall be ill with him, for the reward of his hands shall be given him." Similar proclamations resound all along the line of Chinese history ; but the good to the righteous, and the ill to the wicked, are only the prosperity of the one class and the overthrow and ruin of the other in their worldly estate. The retribution of both cases takes place, not in the persons of the good or the bad, but in those of their descendants. I have said that this view of providence had arisen in China before the time of Confucius. There is a distinct enunciation of it in one of the appendixes to the " Yi King," the authorship of which is generally, though not, I think, correctly, ascribed to the Sage himself. It is said, "The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness ; the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery." The same teaching appears in the second commandment of our Decalogue. An important and wholesome truth it is that the good-doing and ill-doing of parents are visited on and in their children ; but do the sinning parents themselves escape the curse ? It is in this form that the subject of future retribution appears among the literati of China, the professed followers of Confucius, at the present day. They do not deny the continued existence of the spirit after death, and they present their sacrifices or offerings to their ancestors, but it is with little or no consideration of whether their lives were good or bad. Those offerings have become unmeaning forms.

One of the most interesting ceremonies conducted at the capital of China was that in which the emperors until very recently performed a sacrificial service twice a year to the spirits of the emperors of all the dynasties before their own. In the canon of 1826, the sovereigns sacrificed to, from Fu-shi in the thirty-fourth century before Christ down to the close of the Ming Dynasty in 1643, amount to a hundred and eighty-eight. These are not nearly all the sovereigns that have reigned during the long period of five thousand years or thereabouts. What names are admitted and what are rejected depends on the reigning emperor and on the members of the Board of Rites. Shih Hwang Ti of Ch'in, the great

enemy of Confucianism, does not appear, nor sovereigns who proved the ruin of their dynasties. Success seems to be the chief consideration ensuring a place. The second and greatest of the emperors of the reigning line laid it down as a rule for his canon-makers that the character of the sovereigns whom they admitted was not to be too critically examined.

Thus the entire silence of the religion of China with regard to the future of the bad is an unsatisfactory feature in it. The only evil issue of an evil course which it intimates, and that not very distinctly, is to be excluded from sharing in the sacrifices to the dead, the force of which as a motive to virtuous conduct I am unable to appreciate.

I think you will judge of Confucius pretty much as I do. His appearance well deserves to be commemorated as an era in the history of his nation; and whatever there is of good and strength in it is mainly due to him. That there is no little of both may safely be inferred from the long continuance of its national history and the growth of its population. It is what it is, politically, socially, and morally, through the teachings of its Sage. It would have been better if those had been allowed to have the sole occupancy of it. But Taoism, before Confucius and since, and Buddhism since our first century, have been sowing their tares in it. I say so with deference to those who think more highly of those systems than I am able to do. And now in this later time our religion, our commerce, our science and arts, our manners and customs, have all found their way to the empire. Will it be to improve and regenerate it, or to weaken and ruin it? The former will be the case if we act to it according to the golden rule of Confucius, and do to the Chinese as we would have them do to us, and according to the still grander maxim of Lao-tsze, and overcome their evil by our good. I look forward to the future of China with considerable anxiety, but with more of hope.

THE LUN YU
OR
ANALECTS OF CONFUCIUS

“Not to speak to a man to whom you ought to speak, is to lose your man; to speak to one to whom you ought not to speak, is to lose your words. Those who are wise will not lose their man, nor yet their words.”

— CONFUCIUS.

THE ANALECTS

BOOK I.—ON LEARNING¹

“To learn,” said the Master, “and then to practise opportunely what one has learnt — does not this bring with it a sense of satisfaction?”

“To have associates in study coming to one from distant parts — does not this also mean pleasure in store?”

“And are not those who, while not comprehending all that is said, still remain not displeased to hear, men of the superior order?”

A saying of the Scholar Yu:

“It is rarely the case that those who act the part of true men in regard to their duty to parents and elder brothers are at the same time willing to turn currishly upon their superiors: it has never yet been the case that such as desire not to commit that offense have been men willing to promote anarchy or disorder.

“Men of superior mind busy themselves first in getting at the root of things; and when they have succeeded in this the right course is open to them. Well, are not filial piety and friendly subordination among brothers a root of that right feeling which is owing generally from man to man?”

The Master observed, “Rarely do we meet with the right feeling due from one man to another where there is fine speech and studied mien.”

The Scholar Tsang once said of himself: “On three points I examine myself daily, *viz.*, whether in looking after other people’s interests, I have not been acting wholeheartedly; whether, in my intercourse with friends, I have not been true; and whether, after teaching, I have not myself been practising what I have taught.”

The Master once observed that to rule well one of the

¹ This translation is by Prof. Wm. Jennings.

larger States meant strict attention to its affairs and conscientiousness on the part of the ruler; careful husbanding of its resources, with at the same time a tender care for the interests of all classes; and the employing of the masses in the public service at suitable seasons.

“Let young people,” said he, “show filial piety at home, respectfulness toward their elders when away from home; let them be circumspect, be truthful; their love going out freely toward all, cultivating good-will to men. And if, in such a walk, there be time or energy left for other things, let them employ it in the acquisition of literary or artistic accomplishments.”

The disciple Tsze-hia said, “The appreciation of worth in men of worth, thus diverting the mind from lascivious desires — ministering to parents while one is the most capable of so doing — serving one’s ruler when one is able to devote himself entirely to that object — being sincere in one’s language in intercourse with friends: this I certainly must call evidence of learning, though others may say there has been ‘no learning.’”

Sayings of the Master:

“If the great man be not grave, he will not be revered, neither can his learning be solid.

“Give prominent place to loyalty and sincerity.

“Have no associates in study who are not advanced somewhat like yourself.

“When you have erred, be not afraid to correct yourself.”

A saying of the Scholar Tsang:

“The virtue of the people is renewed and enriched when attention is seen to be paid to the departed, and the remembrance of distant ancestors kept and cherished.”

Tsze-k’in put this query to his fellow disciple Tsze-kung: said he, “When our Master comes to this or that State, he learns without fail how it is being governed. Does he investigate matters? or are the facts given him?”

Tsze-kung answered, “Our Master is a man of pleasant manners, and of probity, courteous, moderate and unassuming: it is by his being such that he arrives at the facts. Is

not his way of arriving at things different from that of others?"

A saying of the Master:

"He who, after three years' observation of the will of his father when alive, or of his past conduct if dead, does not deviate from that father's ways, is entitled to be called 'a dutiful son.'"

Sayings of the Scholar Yu:

"For the practise of the Rules of Propriety, one excellent way is to be natural. This naturalness became a great grace in the practise of kings of former times; let every one, small or great, follow their example.

"It is not, however, always practicable; and it is not so in the case of a person who does things naturally, knowing that he should act so, and yet who neglects to regulate his acts according to the Rules.

"When truth and right are hand in hand, a statement will bear repetition. When respectfulness and propriety go hand in hand, disgrace and shame are kept afar-off. Remove all occasion for alienating those to whom you are bound by close ties, and you have them still to resort to."

A saying of the Master:

"The man of greater mind who, when he is eating, craves not to eat to the full; who has a home, but craves not for comforts in it; who is active and earnest in his work and careful in his words; who makes toward men of high principle, and so maintains his own rectitude — that man may be styled a devoted student."

Tsze-kung asked, "What say you, sir, of the poor who do not cringe and fawn; and what of the rich who are without pride and haughtiness?" "They are passable," the Master replied; "yet they are scarcely in the same category as the poor who are happy, and the rich who love propriety."

"In the 'Book of the Odes,'" Tsze-kung went on to say, "we read of one

"Polished, as by the knife and file,
The graving-tool, the smoothing-stone."

Does that coincide with your remark?"

“Ah! such as you,” replied the Master, “may well commence a discussion on the Odes. If one tell you how a thing goes, you know what ought to come.”

“It does not greatly concern me,” said the Master, “that men do not know me; my great concern is, my not knowing them.”

BOOK II.—GOOD GOVERNMENT

Sayings of the Master:

“Let a ruler base his government upon virtuous principles, and he will be like the pole-star, which remains steadfast in its place, while all the host of stars turn toward it.

“The ‘Book of Odes’ contains three hundred pieces, but one expression in it may be taken as covering the purport of all, *viz.*, Unswerving mindfulness.

“To govern simply by statute, and to reduce all to order by means of pains and penalties, is to render the people evasive, and devoid of any sense of shame.

“To govern upon principles of virtue, and to reduce them to order by the Rules of Propriety would not only create in them the sense of shame, but would moreover reach them in all their errors.

“When I attained the age of fifteen, I became bent upon study. At thirty, I was a confirmed student. At forty, naught could move me from my course. At fifty, I comprehended the will and decrees of Heaven. At sixty, my ears were attuned to them. At seventy, I could follow my heart’s desires, without overstepping the lines of rectitude.”

To a question of Mang-i, as to what filial piety consisted in, the master replied, “In not being perverse.” Afterward, when Fan Ch’i was driving him, the Master informed him of this question and answer, and Fan Ch’i asked, “What was your meaning?” The Master replied, “I meant that the Rules of Propriety should always be adhered to in regard to those who brought us into the world: in ministering to them while living, in burying them when dead, and afterward in the offering to them of sacrificial gifts.”

To a query of Mang Wu respecting filial piety, the Master

replied, "Parents ought to bear but one trouble — that of their own sickness."

To a like question put by Tsze-yu, his reply was this: "The filial piety of the present day simply means the being able to support one's parents — which extends even to the case of dogs and horses, all of which may have something to give in the way of support. If there be no reverential feeling in the matter, what is there to distinguish between the cases?"

To a like question of Tsze-hia, he replied: "The manner is the difficulty. If, in the case of work to be done, the younger folks simply take upon themselves the toil of it; or if, in the matter of meat and drink, they simply set these before their elders — is this to be taken as filial piety?"

Once the Master remarked, "I have conversed with Hwui the whole day long, and he has controverted nothing that I have said, as if he were without wits. But when his back was turned, and I looked attentively at his conduct apart from me, I found it satisfactory in all its issues. No, indeed! Hwui is not without his wits."

Other observations of the Master:

"If you observe what things people usually take in hand, watch their motives, and note particularly what it is that gives them satisfaction, shall they be able to conceal from you what they are? Conceal themselves, indeed!

"Be versed in ancient lore, and familiarize yourself with the modern; then may you become teachers.

"The great man is not a mere receptacle."

In reply to Tsze-kung respecting the great man:

"What he first says, as a result of his experience, he afterward follows up.

"The great man is catholic-minded, and not one-sided. The common man is the reverse.

"Learning, without thought, is a snare; thought, without learning, is a danger.

"Where the mind is set much upon heterodox principles — there truly and indeed is harm."

To the disciple Tsze-lu the Master said, "Shall I give you a lesson about knowledge? When you know a thing, maintain that you know it; and when you do not, acknowledge your ignorance. This is characteristic of knowledge."

Tsze-chang was studying with an eye to official income. The Master addressed him thus: "Of the many things you hear, hold aloof from those that are doubtful, and speak guardedly with reference to the rest; your mistakes will then be few. Also, of the many courses you see adopted, hold aloof from those that are risky, and carefully follow the others; you will then seldom have occasion for regret. Thus, being seldom mistaken in your utterances, and having few occasions for regret in the line you take, you are on the high road to your preferment."

To a question put to him by Duke Ngai ² as to what should be done in order to render the people submissive to authority, Confucius replied, "Promote the straightforward, and reject those whose courses are crooked, and the thing will be effected. Promote the crooked and reject the straightforward, and the effect will be the reverse."

When Ki K'ang asked of him how the people could be induced to show respect, loyalty, and willingness to be led, the Master answered, "Let there be grave dignity in him who has the oversight of them, and they will show him respect; let him be seen to be good to his own parents, and kindly in disposition, and they will be loyal to him; let him promote those who have ability, and see to the instruction of those who have it not, and they will be willing to be led."

Some one, speaking to Confucius, inquired, "Why, sir, are you not an administrator of government?" The Master rejoined, "What says the 'Book of the Annals,' with reference to filial duty? — 'Make it a point to be dutiful to your parents and amicable with your brethren; the same duties extend to an administrator.' If these, then, also make an administrator, how am I to take your words about being an administrator?"

On one occasion the Master remarked, "I know not what

² Of Lu, Confucius's native State.

men are good for, on whose word no reliance can be placed. How should your carriages, large or little, get along without your whipple-trees or swing-trees?"

Tsze-chang asked if it were possible to forecast the state of the country ten generations hence. The Master replied in this manner: "The Yin Dynasty adopted the rules and manners of the Hsia line of kings, and it is possible to tell whether it retrograded or advanced. The Chau line has followed the Yin, adopting its ways, and whether there has been deterioration or improvement may also be determined. Some other line may take up in turn those of Chau; and supposing even this process to go on for a hundred generations, the result may be known."

Other sayings of the Master:

"It is but flattery to make sacrificial offerings to the departed spirits not belonging to one's own family.

"It is moral cowardice to leave undone what one perceives to be right to do."

BOOK III.—ABUSE OF PROPRIETIES

Alluding to the head of the Ki family,³ and the eight lines of posturers⁴ before their ancestral hall, Confucius remarked, "If the Ki can allow himself to go to this extent, to what extent will he not allow himself to go?"

The Three Families⁵ were in the habit, during the Removal of the sacred vessels after sacrifice, of using the hymn commencing

³ The Chief of the Ki clan was virtually the Duke of Lu, under whom Confucius for a time held office.

⁴ These posturers were mutes who took part in the ritual of the ancestral temple, waving plumes, flags, etc. Each line or rank of these contained eight men. Only in the sovereign's household should there have been eight lines of them; a ducal family like the Ki should have had but six lines; a great official had four, and one of lower grade two. These were the gradations marking the status of families, and Confucius's sense of propriety was offended at the Ki's usurping in this way the appearance of royalty.

⁵ Three great families related to each other, in whose hands the government of the State of Lu then was, and of which the Ki was the chief.

“ Harmoniously the Princes
 Draw near with reverent tread,
 Assisting in his worship
 Heaven’s Son, the great and dread.”

“ How,” exclaimed the Master, “ can such words be appropriated in the ancestral hall of the Three Families ? ”

“ Where a man,” said he again, “ has not the proper feelings due from one man to another, how will he stand as regards the Rules of Propriety ? And in such a case, what shall we say of his sense of harmony ? ”

On a question being put to him by Lin Fang, a disciple, as to what was the radical idea upon which the Rules of Propriety were based, the Master exclaimed, “ Ah ! that is a large question. As to some rules, where there is likelihood of extravagance, they would rather demand economy ; in those which relate to mourning, and where there is likelihood of being easily satisfied, what is wanted is real sorrow.”

Speaking of the disorder of the times he remarked that while the barbarians on the North and East had their Chieftains, we here in this country had nothing to compare with them in that respect : we had lost these distinctions !

Alluding to the matter of the Chief of the Ki family worshipping on Thai-shan,⁶ the Master said to Yen Yu, “ Can not you save him from this ? ” He replied, “ It is beyond my power.” “ Alas, alas ! ” exclaimed the Master, “ are we to say that the spirits of Thai-shan have not as much discernment as Lin Fang ? ”

Of “ the superior man,” the Master observed, “ In him there is no contentiousness. Say even that he does certainly contend with others, as in archery competitions ; yet mark, in that case, how courteously he will bow and go up for the forfeit-cup, and come down again and give it to his competitor. In his very contest he is still the superior man.”

Tsze-hia once inquired what inference might be drawn from the lines —

⁶ One of the five sacred mountains, worshiped upon only by the sovereign.

“Dimples playing in witching smile,
 Beautiful eyes, so dark, so bright!
 Oh and her face may be thought the while
 Colored by art, red rose on white!”

“Coloring,” replied the Master, “requires a pure and clear background.” “Then,” said the other, “rules of ceremony require to have a background!” “Ah!” exclaimed the Master, “you are the man to catch the drift of my thought. Such as you may well introduce a discussion on the Odes.”

Said the Master, “As regards the ceremonial adopted and enforced by the Hia Dynasty, I am able to describe it, although their own descendants in the State of Ki can adduce no adequate testimony in favor of its use there. So, too, I am able to describe the ceremonial of the Yin Dynasty, although no more can the Sung people show sufficient reason for its continuance amongst themselves. And why can not they do so? Because they have not documents enough, nor men learned enough. If only they had such, I could refer them to them in support of their usages.

“When I am present at the great quinquennial sacrifice to the *manes* of the royal ancestors,” the Master said, “from the pouring-out of the oblation onward, I have no heart to look on.”

Some one asked what was the purport of this great sacrifice, and the Master replied, “I can not tell. The position in the empire of him who could tell you is as evident as when you look at this”—pointing to the palm of his hand.

When he offered sacrifices to his ancestors, he used to act as if they were present before him. In offering to other spirits it was the same.

He would say, “If I do not myself take part in my offerings, it is all the same as if I did not offer them.”

Wang-sun Kia asked him once, “What says the proverb, ‘Better to court favor in the kitchen than in the drawing-room’?” The Master replied, “Nay, better say, He who has sinned against Heaven has none other to whom prayer may be addressed.”

Of the Chau Dynasty the Master remarked, “It looks back

upon two other dynasties; and what a rich possession it has in its records of those times! I follow Chau!"

On his first entry into the grand temple, he inquired about every matter connected with its usages. Some one thereupon remarked, "Who says that the son of the man of Tsou⁷ understands about ceremonial? On entering the grand temple he inquired about everything." This remark coming to the Master's ears, he said, "What I did is part of the ceremonial!"

"In archery," he said, "the great point to be observed is not simply the perforation of the leather; for men have not all the same strength. That was the fashion in the olden days."

Once, seeing that his disciple Tsze-kung was desirous that the ceremonial observance of offering a sheep at the new moon might be dispensed with, the Master said, "Ah! you grudge the loss of the sheep; I grudge the loss of the ceremony."

"To serve one's ruler nowadays," he remarked, "fully complying with the Rules of Propriety, is regarded by others as toadyism!"

When Duke Ting questioned him as to how a prince should deal with his ministers, and how they in turn should serve their prince, Confucius said in reply, "In dealing with his ministers a prince should observe the proprieties; in serving his prince a minister should observe the duty of loyalty."

Referring to the First of the Odes, he remarked that it was mirthful without being lewd; and sad also without being painful.

Duke Ngai asked the disciple Tsai Wo respecting the places for sacrificing to the Earth. The latter replied, "The Family of the Great Yu, of the Hsia Dynasty, chose a place of pine-trees; the Yin founders chose cypresses; and the Chau founders chestnut-trees, solemn and majestic, to inspire, 'tis said, the people with feelings of awe."

The Master on hearing of this exclaimed, "Never an allu-

⁷ Tsou was Confucius's birthplace; his father was governor of the town.

sion to things that have been enacted in the past! Never a remonstrance against what is now going on! He has gone away without a word of censure."

The Master once said of Kwan Chung,⁸ "A small-minded man indeed!"

"Was he miserly?" some one asked.

"Miserly, indeed!" said he; "not that: he married three times, and he was not a man who restricted his official business to too few hands — how could he be miserly?"

"He knew the Rules of Propriety, I suppose?"

"Judge: Seeing that the feudal lords planted a screen at their gates, he too would have one at his! Seeing that when any two of the feudal lords met in friendly conclave they had an earthenware stand on which to place their inverted cups after drinking, he must have the same! If he knew the Rules of Propriety, who is there that does know them?"

In a discourse to the Chief Preceptor of Music at the court of Lu, the Master said, "Music is an intelligible thing. When you begin a performance, let all the various instruments produce as it were one sound (inharmonious); then, as you go on, bring out the harmony fully, distinctly, and with uninterrupted flow, unto the end."

The warden of the border-town of I requested an interview with Confucius, and said, "When great men have come here, I have never yet failed to obtain a sight of them." The followers introduced him; and, on leaving, he said to them, "Sirs, why grieve at his loss of office? The empire has for long been without good government; and Heaven is about to use your master as its edict-announcer."

Comparing the music of the Emperor Shun with the music of King Wu, the Master said, "That of Shun is beautiful throughout, and also good throughout. That of Wu is all of it beautiful, but scarcely all of it good."

⁸ A renowned statesman who flourished about two hundred years before Confucius's time. A philosophical work on law and government, said to have been written by him, is still extant. He was regarded as a sage by the people, but he lacked, in Confucius's eyes, the one thing needful — propriety.

“High station,” said the Master, “occupied by men who have no large and generous heart; ceremonial performed with no reverence; duties of mourning engaging the attention, where there is absence of sorrow — how should I look on, where this is the state of things?”

BOOK IV.—SOCIAL VIRTUE

Sayings of the Master :

“It is social good feeling that gives charm to a neighborhood. And where is the wisdom of those who choose an abode where it does not abide?”

“Those who are without it can not abide long, either in straitened or in happy circumstances. Those who possess it find contentment in it. Those who are wise go after it as men go after gain.

“Only they in whom it exists can have right likings and dislikings for others.

“Where the will is set upon it, there will be no room for malpractises.

“Riches and honor are what men desire; but if they arrive at them by improper ways, they should not continue to hold them. Poverty and low estate are what men dislike; but if they arrive at such a condition by improper ways, they should not refuse it.

“If the ‘superior man’ make naught of social good feeling, how shall he fully bear that name?”

“Not even whilst he eats his meal will the ‘superior man’ forget what he owes to his fellow-men. Even in hurried leave-takings, even in moments of frantic confusion, he keeps true to this virtue.

“I have not yet seen a lover of philanthropy, nor a hater of misanthropy — such, that the former did not take occasion to magnify that virtue in himself, and that the latter, in his positive practise of philanthropy, did not, at times, allow in his presence something savoring of misanthropy.

“Say you, is there any one who is able for one whole day to apply the energy of his mind to this virtue? Well, I have

not seen any one whose energy was not equal to it. It may be there are such, but I have never met with them.

“The faults of individuals are peculiar to their particular class and surroundings; and it is by observing their faults that one comes to understand the condition of their good feelings toward their fellows.

“One may hear the right way in the morning, and at evening die.

“The scholar who is intent upon learning the right way, and who is yet ashamed of poor attire and poor food, is not worthy of being discoursed with.

“The masterly man’s attitude to the world is not exclusively this or that: whatsoever is right, to that he will be a party.

“The masterly man has an eye to virtue, the common man, to earthly things; the former has an eye to penalties for error — the latter, to favor.

“Where there is habitual going after gain, there is much ill-will.

“When there is ability in a ruler to govern a country by adhering to the Rules of Propriety, and by kindly condescension, what is wanted more? Where the ability to govern thus is wanting, what has such a ruler to do with the Rules of Propriety?

“One should not be greatly concerned at not being in office; but rather about the requirements in one’s self for such a standing. Neither should one be so much concerned at being unknown; but rather with seeking to become worthy of being known.”

Addressing his disciple Tsang Sin, the Master said, “Tsang Sin, the principles which I inculcate have one main idea upon which they all hang.” “Aye, surely,” he replied.

When the Master was gone out the other disciples asked what was the purport of this remark. Tsang’s answer was, “The principles of our Master’s teaching are these — wholeheartedness and kindly forbearance; these and nothing more.”

Other observations of the Master:

“Men of loftier mind manifest themselves in their equitable dealings; small-minded men in their going after gain.

“When you meet with men of worth, think how you may attain to their level; when you see others of an opposite character, look within, and examine yourself.

“A son, in ministering to his parents, may on occasion offer gentle remonstrances; when he sees that their will is not to heed such, he should nevertheless still continue to show them reverent respect, never obstinacy; and if he have to suffer, let him do so without murmuring.

“Whilst the parents are still living, he should not wander far; or, if a wanderer, he should at least have some fixed address.

“If for three years he do not veer from the principles of his father, he may be called a dutiful son.

“A son should not ignore the years of his parents. On the one hand, they may be a matter for rejoicing that they have been so many, and on the other, for apprehension that so few remain.

“People in olden times were loth to speak out, fearing the disgrace of not being themselves as good as their words.

“Those who keep within restraints are seldom losers.

“To be slow to speak, but prompt to act, is the desire of the ‘superior man.’

“Virtue dwells not alone; she must have neighbors.”

An observation of Tse-yu:

“Officiousness, in the service of princes, leads to disgrace; among friends, to estrangement.”

BOOK V.—THE DISCIPLES

The Master pronounced Kung-ye Ch'ang, a disciple, to be a marriageable person; for although lying bound in criminal fetters he had committed no crime. And he gave him his own daughter to wife.

Of Nan Yung, a disciple, he observed, that in a State where the government was well conducted he would not be passed over in its appointments, and in one where the gov-

ernment was ill conducted he would evade punishment and disgrace. And he caused his elder brother's daughter to be given in marriage to him.

Of Tsze-tsien, a disciple, he remarked, "A superior man indeed is the like of him! But had there been none of superior quality in Lu, how should this man have attained to this excellence?"

Tsze-kung asked, "What of me, then?" "You," replied the Master — "You are a receptacle." "Of what sort?" said he. "One for high and sacred use," was the answer.

Some one having observed of Yen Yung that he was good-natured toward others, but that he lacked the gift of ready speech, the Master said, "What need of that gift? To stand up before men and pour forth a stream of glib words is generally to make yourself obnoxious to them. I know not about his good-naturedness; but at any rate what need of that gift?"

When the Master proposed that Tsi-tiau K'ai should enter the government service, the latter replied, "I can scarcely credit it." The Master was gratified.

"Good principles are making no progress," once exclaimed the Master. "If I were to take a raft, and drift about on the sea, would Tsze-lu, I wonder, be my follower there?" That disciple was delighted at hearing the suggestion; whereupon the Master continued, "He surpasses me in his love of deeds of daring. But he does not in the least grasp the pith of my remark."

In reply to a question put to him by Mang Wu respecting Tsze-lu — as to whether he might be called good-natured toward others, the Master said, "I can not tell"; but, on the question being put again, he answered, "Well, in an important State he might be entrusted with the management of the military levies; but I can not answer for his good nature."

"What say you then of Yen Yu?"

"As for Yen," he replied, "in a city of a thousand families, or in a secondary fief, he might be charged with the governorship; but I can not answer for his good-naturedness."

“Take Tsze-hwa, then; what of him?”

“Tsze-hwa,” said he, “with a cincture girt upon him, standing as attendant at Court, might be charged with the addressing of visitors and guests; but as to his good-naturedness I can not answer.”

Addressing Tsze-kung, the Master said, “Which of the two is ahead of the other — yourself or Hwui?” “How shall I dare,” he replied, “even to look at Hwui? Only let him hear one particular, and from that he knows ten; whereas I, if I hear one, may from it know two.”

“You are not a match for him, I grant you,” said the Master. “You are not his match.”

Tsai Yu, a disciple, used to sleep in the daytime. Said the Master, “One may hardly carve rotten wood, or use a trowel to the wall of a manure-yard! In his case, what is the use of reprimand?”

“My attitude toward a man in my first dealings with him,” he added, “was to listen to his professions and to trust to his conduct. My attitude now is to listen to his professions, and to watch his conduct. My experience with Tsai Yu has led to this change.”

“I have never seen,” said the Master, “a man of inflexible firmness.” Some one thereupon mentioned Shin Ch‘ang, a disciple. “Ch‘ang,” said he, “is wanton; where do you get at his inflexibility?”

Tzse-kung made the remark: “That which I do not wish others to put upon me, I also wish not to put upon others.”

“Nay,” said the Master, “you have not got so far as that.”

The same disciple once remarked, “There may be access so as to hear the Master’s literary discourses, but when he is treating of human nature and the way of Heaven, there may not be such success.”

Tsze-lu, after once hearing him upon some subject, and feeling himself as yet incompetent to carry into practise what he had heard, used to be apprehensive only lest he should hear the subject revived.

Tsze-kung asked how it was that King Wan had come to

be so styled Wan the talented. The Master's answer was, "Because, though a man of an active nature, he was yet fond of study, and he was not ashamed to stoop to put questions to his inferiors."

Respecting Tsze-ch'an,⁹ the Master said that he had four of the essential qualities of the "superior man"; in his own private walk he was humble-minded; in serving his superiors he was deferential; in his looking after the material welfare of the people he was generously kind; and in his exaction of public service from the latter he was just.

Speaking of Yen Ping, he said, "He was one who was happy in his mode of attaching men to him. However long the intercourse, he was always deferential to them."

Referring to Tsang Wan, he asked, "What is to be said of this man's discernment?—this man with his tortoise-house, with the pillar-heads and posts bedizened with scenes of hill and mere!"

Tsze-chang put a question relative to the chief Minister of Tsu, Tsze-wan. He said, "Three times he became chief Minister, and on none of these occasions did he betray any sign of exultation. Three times his ministry came to an end, and he showed no sign of chagrin. He used without fail to inform the new Minister as to the old mode of administration. What say you of him?"

"That he was a loyal man," said the Master.

"But was he a man of fellow-feeling?" said the disciple.

"Of that I am not sure," he answered; "how am I to get at that?"

The disciple went on to say: "After the assassination of the prince of Ts'i by the officer Ts'ui, the latter's fellow-official Ch'in Wan, who had half a score of teams of horses, gave up all, and turned his back upon him. On coming to another State, he observed, 'There are here characters somewhat like that of our minister Ts'ui,' and he turned his back upon them. Proceeding to a certain other State, he had occasion to make the same remark, and left. What say you of him?"

⁹ A great statesman of Confucius's time.

"That he was a pure-minded man," answered the Master.

"But was he a man of fellow-feeling?" urged the disciple.

"Of that I am not sure," he replied; "how am I to get at that?"

Ki Wan was one who thought three times over a thing before he acted. The Master hearing this of him, observed, "Twice would have been enough."

Of Ning Wu, the Master said that when matters went well in the State he used to have his wits about him: but when they went wrong, he lost them. His intelligence might be equaled, but not his witlessness!

Once, when the Master lived in the State of Ch'in, he exclaimed, "Let me get home again! Let me get home! My school-children¹⁰ are wild and impetuous! Though they are somewhat accomplished, and perfect in one sense in their attainments, yet they know not how to make nice discriminations."

Of Peh-I and Shuh Ts'i he said, "By the fact of their not remembering old grievances, they gradually did away with resentment."

Of Wei-shang Kau he said, "Who calls him straightforward? A person once begged some vinegar of him, and he begged it from a neighbor, and then presented him with it!"

"Fine speech," said he, "and studied mien, and superfluous show of deference — of such things Tso-k'iu Ming was ashamed. I too am ashamed of such things. Also of hiding resentment felt toward an opponent and treating him as a friend — of this kind of thing he was ashamed, and so too am I."

Attended once by the two disciples Yen Yuen and Tsze-lu, he said, "Come now, why not tell me, each of you, what in your hearts you are really after?"

"I should like," said Tsze-lu, "for myself and my friends and associates, carriages and horses, and to be clad in light furs! nor would I mind much if they should become the worse for wear."

¹⁰ A familiar way of speaking of his disciples in their hearing.

“And I should like,” said Yen Yuen, “to live without boasting of my abilities, and without display of meritorious deeds.”

Tsze-lu then said, “I should like, sir, to hear what your heart is set upon.”

The Master replied, “It is this: in regard to old people, to give them quiet and comfort; in regard to friends and associates, to be faithful to them; in regard to the young, to treat them with fostering affection and kindness.”

On one occasion the Master exclaimed, “Ah, ’tis hopeless! I have not yet seen the man who can see his errors, so as inwardly to accuse himself.”

“In a small cluster of houses there may well be,” said he, “some whose integrity and sincerity may compare with mine; but I yield to none in point of love of learning.”

BOOK VI.—WISDOM

Of Yen Yung, a disciple, the Master said, “Yung might indeed do for a prince!”

On being asked by this Yen Yung his opinion of a certain individual, the Master replied, “He is passable. Impetuous, though.”

“But,” argued the disciple, “if a man habituate himself to a reverent regard for duty—even while in his way of doing things he is impetuous—in the oversight of the people committed to his charge, is he not passable? If, on the other hand, he habituate himself to impetuosity of mind, and show it also in his way of doing things, is he not then over-impetuous?”

“You are right,” said the Master.

When the Duke Ngai inquired which of the disciples were devoted to learning, Confucius answered him, “There was one Yen Hwui who loved it—a man whose angry feelings toward any particular person he did not suffer to visit upon another man; a man who would never fall into the same error twice. Unfortunately his allotted time was short, and he

died, and now his like is not to be found; I have never heard of one so devoted to learning."

While Tsze-hwa, a disciple, was away on a mission to Ts'i, the disciple Yen Yu, on behalf of his mother, applied for some grain. "Give her three pecks," said the Master. He applied for more. "Give her eight, then." Yen gave her fifty times that amount. The Master said, "When Tsze-hwa went on that journey to Ts'i, he had well-fed steeds yoked to his carriage, and was arrayed in light furs. I have learnt that the 'superior man' should help those whose needs are urgent, not help the rich to be more rich."

When Yuen Sze became prefect under him, he gave him nine hundred measures of grain, but the prefect declined to accept them.¹¹ "You must not," said the Master. "May they not be of use to the villages and hamlets around you?"

Speaking of Yen Yung again, the Master said, "If the offspring of a speckled ox be red in color, and horned, even though men may not wish to take it for sacrifice, would the spirits of the hills and streams reject it?"

Adverting to Hwui again, he said, "For three months there would not be in his breast one thought recalcitrant against his feeling of good-will toward his fellow-men. The others may attain to this for a day or for a month, but there they end."

When asked by Ki K'ang whether Tsze-lu was fit to serve the government, the Master replied, "Tsze-lu is a man of decision: what should prevent him from serving the government?"

Asked the same question respecting Tsze-kung and Yen Yu he answered similarly, pronouncing Tsze-kung to be a man of perspicacity, and Yen Yu to be one versed in the polite arts.

When the head of the Ki family sent for Min Tsze-k'ien to make him governor of the town of Pi, that disciple said, "Politely decline for me. If the offer is renewed, then

¹¹ At this time Confucius was Criminal Judge in his native State of Lu. Yuen Sze had been a disciple. The commentators add that this was the officer's proper salary, and that he did wrong to refuse it.

indeed I shall feel myself obliged to go and live on the further bank of the Wan."

Peh-niu had fallen ill, and the Master was inquiring after him. Taking hold of his hand held out from the window, he said, "It is taking him off! Alas, his appointed time has come! Such a man, and to have such an illness!"

Of Hwui, again: "A right worthy man indeed was he! With his simple wooden dish of rice, and his one gourd-basin of drink, away in his poor back lane, in a condition too grievous for others to have endured, he never allowed his cheery spirits to droop. Aye, a right worthy soul was he!"

"It is not," Yen Yu once apologized, "that I do not take pleasure in your doctrines; it is that I am not strong enough." The Master rejoined, "It is when those who are not strong enough have made some moderate amount of progress that they fail and give up; but you are now drawing your own line for yourself."

Addressing Tsze-hia, the Master said, "Let your scholarship be that of gentlemen, and not like that of common men."

When Tsze-yu became governor of Wu-shing, the Master said to him, "Do you find good men about you?" The reply was, "There is Tan-Thai Mich-ming, who when walking eschews by-paths, and who, unless there be some public function, never approaches my private residence."

"Mang Chi-fan," said the Master, "is no sounder of his own praises. During a stampede he was in the rear, and as they were about to enter the city gate he whipped up his horses, and said, 'Twas not my daring made me lag behind. My horses would not go.'"

Sayings of the Master:

"Whoever has not the glib utterance of the priest Tho, as well as the handsomeness of Prince Chau of Sung, will find it hard to keep out of harm's way in the present age.

"Who can go out but by that door? Why walks no one by these guiding principles?"

"Where plain naturalness is more in evidence than polish, we have — the man from the country. Where polish is more in evidence than naturalness, we have — the town scribe.

It is when naturalness and polish are equally evident that we have the ideal man.

“The life of a man is — his rectitude. Life without it — such may you have the good fortune to avoid!

“They who know it are not as those who love it, nor they who love it as those who rejoice in it — that is, have the fruition of their love for it.

“To the average man, and those above the average, it is possible to discourse on higher subjects; to those from the average downward, it is not possible.”

Fan Ch'i put a query about wisdom. The Master replied, “To labor for the promoting of righteous conduct among the people of the land; to be serious in regard to spiritual beings, and to hold aloof from them — this may be called wisdom.”

To a further query, about philanthropy, he replied, “Those who possess that virtue find difficulty with it at first, success later.”

“Men of practical knowledge,” he said, “find their gratification among the rivers of the lowland, men of sympathetic social feeling find theirs among the hills. The former are active and bustling, the latter calm and quiet. The former take their day of pleasure, the latter look to length of days.”

Alluding to the States of Ts'i and Lu, he observed, that Ts'i, by one change, might attain to the condition of Lu; and that Lu, by one change, might attain to good government.

An exclamation of the Master (satirizing the times, when old terms relating to government were still used while bereft of their old meaning): “A quart, and not a quart! *quart*, indeed! *quart*, indeed!”

Tsai Wo, a disciple, put a query. Said he, “Suppose a philanthropic person were told, ‘There's a fellow-creature down in the well!’ Would he go down after him?”

“Why should he really do so?” answered the Master. “The good man, or a superior man, might be induced to go, but not to go down. He may be misled, but not befooled.”

“The superior man,” said he, “with his wide study of books, and hedging himself round by the Rules of Propriety,

is not surely, after all that, capable of overstepping his bounds."

Once when the Master had had an interview with Nan-tsze, which had scandalized his disciple Tsze-lu, he uttered the solemn adjuration, "If I have done aught amiss, may Heaven reject me! may Heaven reject me!"

"How far-reaching," said he, "is the moral excellence that flows from the Constant Mean!¹² It has for a long time been rare among the people."

Tsze-kung said, "Suppose the case of one who confers benefits far and wide upon the people, and who can, in so doing, make his bounty universally felt—how would you speak of him? Might he be called philanthropic?"

The Master exclaimed, "What a work for philanthropy! He would require indeed to be a sage! He would put into shade even Yau and Shun!—Well, a philanthropic person, desiring for himself a firm footing, is led on to give one to others; desiring for himself an enlightened perception of things, he is led on to help others to be similarly enlightened. If one could take an illustration coming closer home to us than yours, that might be made the starting-point for speaking about philanthropy."

BOOK VII.—CHARACTERISTICS OF CONFUCIUS

Said the Master:

"I, as a transmitter¹³ and not an originator, and as one who believes in and loves the ancients, venture to compare myself with our old P'ang.

"What find you indeed in me?—a quiet brooder and memorizer; a student never satiated with learning; an unwearied monitor of others!

"The things which weigh heavily upon my mind are these—failure to improve in the virtues, failure in discussion of what is learnt, inability to walk according to knowledge re-

¹² The doctrine afterward known by that name, and which gave its title to the Confucian treatise on the Doctrine of the Equilibrium.

¹³ In reference to his editing the six Classics of his time.

ceived as to what is right and just, inability also to reform what has been amiss."

In his hours of recreation and refreshment the Master's manner was easy and unconstrained, affable and winning.

Once he exclaimed, "Alas! I must be getting very feeble; 'tis long since I have had a repetition of the dreams in which I used to see the Duke of Chau."¹⁴

"Concentrate the mind," said he, "upon the Good Way.

"Maintain firm hold upon Virtue.

"Rely upon Philanthropy.

"Find recreation in the Arts."¹⁵

"I have never withheld instruction from any, even from those who have come for it with the smallest offering.

"No subject do I broach, however, to those who have no eager desire to learn; no encouraging hint do I give to those who show no anxiety to speak out their ideas; nor have I anything more to say to those who, after I have made clear one corner of the subject, can not from that give me the other three."

If the Master was taking a meal, and there were any in mourning beside him, he would not eat to the full.

On one day on which he had wept, on that day he would not sing.

Addressing his favorite disciple, he said, "To you only and myself it has been given to do this — to go when called to serve, and to go back into quiet retirement when released from office."

Tsze-lu, hearing the remark, said, "But if, sir, you had the handling of the army of one of the greater States, whom would you have associated with you in that case?"

The Master answered:

¹⁴ This was one of his "beloved ancients," famous for what he did in helping to found the dynasty of Chau, a man of great political wisdom, a scholar also, and poet. It was the "dream" of Confucius's life to restore the country to the condition in which the Duke of Chau left it.

¹⁵ These were six in number, *viz.*: Ceremonial, Music, Archery, Horsemanship, Language, and Calculation.

“Not the one ‘who’ll rouse the tiger,’
Not the one ‘who’ll wade the Ho’;

not the man who can die with no regret. He must be one who should watch over affairs with apprehensive caution, a man fond of strategy, and of perfect skill and effectiveness in it.”

As to wealth, he remarked, “If wealth were an object that I could go in quest of, I should do so even if I had to take a whip and do grooms’ work. But seeing that it is not, I go after those objects for which I have a liking.”

Among matters over which he exercised great caution were times of fasting, war, and sickness.

When he was in the State of Ts’i, and had heard the ancient Shau music, he lost all perception of the taste of his meat. “I had no idea,” said he, “that music could have been brought to this pitch.”

In the course of conversation Yen Yu said, “Does the Master take the part of the Prince of Wei?” “Ah, yes!” said Tsze-kung, “I will go and ask him that.”

On going in to him, that disciple began, “What sort of men were Peh-I and Shuh Ts’i?” “Worthies of the olden time,” the Master replied. “Had they any feelings of resentment?” was the next question. “Their aim and object,” he answered, “was that of doing the duty which every man owes to his fellows, and they succeeded in doing it; what room further for feelings of resentment?” The questioner on coming out said, “The Master does not take his part.”

“With a meal of coarse rice,” said the Master, “and with water to drink, and my bent arm for my pillow — even thus I can find happiness. Riches and honors without righteousness are to me as fleeting clouds.”

“Give me several years more to live,” said he, “and after fifty years’ study of the ‘Book of Changes’ I might come to be free from serious error.”

The Master’s regular subjects of discourse were the “Books of the Odes” and “History,” and the up-keeping

of the Rules of Propriety. On all of these he regularly discoursed.

The Duke of Shih questioned Tsze-lu about Confucius, and the latter did not answer. Hearing of this, the Master said, "Why did you not say, He is a man with a mind so intent on his pursuits that he forgets his food, and finds such pleasure in them that he forgets his troubles, and does not know that old age is coming upon him?"

"As I came not into life with any knowledge of it," he said, "and as my likings are for what is old, I busy myself in seeking knowledge there."

Strange occurrences, exploits of strength, deeds of lawlessness, references to spiritual things — such-like matters the Master avoided in conversation.

"Let there," he said, "be three men walking together: from that number I should be sure to find my instructors; for what is good in them I should choose out and follow, and what is not good I should modify."

On one occasion he exclaimed, "Heaven begat Virtue in me; what can man do unto me?"

To his disciples he once said, "Do you look upon me, my sons, as keeping anything secret from you? I hide nothing from you. I do nothing that is not manifest to your eyes, my disciples. That is so with me."

Four things there were which he kept in view in his teaching — scholarliness, conduct of life, honesty, faithfulness.

"It is not given to me," he said, "to meet with a sage; let me behold a man of superior mind, and that will suffice. Neither is it given to me to meet with a good man; let me but see a man of constancy, and it will suffice. It is difficult for persons to have constancy, when they pretend to have that which they are destitute of, to be full when they are empty, to do things on a grand scale when their means are contracted!"

When the Master fished with hook and line, he did not also use a net. When out with his bow, he would never shoot at game in cover.

"Some there may be," said he, "who do things in ignorance of what they do. I am not of these. There is an alternative way of knowing things, *viz.*: to sift out the good from the many things one hears, and follow it; and to keep in memory the many things one sees."

Pupils from Hu-hiang were difficult to speak with. One youth came to interview the Master, and the disciples were in doubt whether he ought to have been seen. "Why so much ado," said the Master, "at my merely permitting his approach, and not rather at my allowing him to draw back? If a man have cleansed himself in order to come and see me, I receive him as such; but I do not undertake for what he will do when he goes away."

"Is the philanthropic spirit far to seek, indeed?" the Master exclaimed; "I wish for it, and it is with me!"

The Minister of Crime in the State of Ch'in asked Confucius whether Duke Ch'au of Lu was acquainted with the Proprieties; and he answered, "Yes, he knows them."

When Confucius had withdrawn, the minister bowed to Wu-ma K'i, a disciple, and motioned to him to come forward. He said, "I have heard that superior men show no partiality; are they, too, then, partial? That prince took for his wife a lady of the Wu family, having the same surname as himself, and had her named 'Lady Tsze of Wu, the elder.' If he knows the Proprieties, then who does not?"

The disciple reported this to the Master, who thereupon remarked, "Well for me! If I err in any way, others are sure to know of it."

When the Master was in company with any one who sang, and who sang well, he must needs have the song over again, and after that would join in it.

"Although in letters," he said, "I may have none to compare with me, yet in my personification of the 'superior man' I have not as yet been successful."

"'A Sage and a Philanthropist?' How should I have the ambition?" said he. "All that I can well be called is

this — An insatiable student, an unwearied teacher; this, and no more.” “Exactly what we, your disciples, can not by any learning manage to be,” said Kung-si Hwa.

Once when the Master was seriously ill, Tsze-lu requested to be allowed to say prayers for him. “Are such available?” asked the Master. “Yes,” said he; “and the Manual of Prayers says, ‘Pray to the spirits above and to those here below.’”

“My prayer has been going on a long while,” said the Master.

“Lavish living,” he said, “renders men disorderly; miserliness makes them hard. Better, however, the hard than the disorderly.”

Again, “The man of superior mind is placidly composed; the small-minded man is in a constant state of perturbation.”

The Master was gentle, yet could be severe; had an over-awing presence, yet was not violent; was deferential, yet easy.

BOOK VIII.—SAYINGS OF TSANG

Speaking of Thai-pih the Master said that he might be pronounced a man of the highest moral excellence; for he allowed the empire to pass by him onward to a third heir; while the people, in their ignorance of his motives were unable to admire him for so doing.

“Without the Proprieties,” said the Master, “we have these results: for deferential demeanor, a worried one; for calm attentiveness, awkward bashfulness; for manly conduct, disorderliness; for straightforwardness, perversity.

“When men of rank show genuine care for those nearest to them in blood, the people rise to the duty of neighborliness and sociability. And when old friendships among them are not allowed to fall off, there will be a cessation of under-hand practises among the people.”

The Scholar Tsang was once unwell, and calling his pupils to him he said to them, “Disclose to view my feet and my hands. What says the Ode? —

‘ Act as from a sense of danger,
With precaution and with care,
As a yawning gulf o’erlooking,
As on ice that scarce will bear.’

At all times, my children, I know how to keep myself free from bodily harm.”

Again, during an illness of his, Mang King, an official, went to ask after him. The Scholar had some conversation with him, in the course of which he said —

“ ‘ Doleful the cries of a dying bird,
Good the last words of a dying man.’

There are three points which a man of rank in the management of his duties should set store upon: A lively manner and deportment, banishing both severity and laxity; a frank and open expression of countenance, allied closely with sincerity; and a tone in his utterances utterly free from any approach to vulgarity and impropriety. As to matters of bowls and dishes, leave such things to those who are charged with the care of them.”

Another saying of the Scholar Tsang: “I once had a friend who, though he possessed ability, would go questioning men of none, and, though surrounded by numbers, would go with his questions to isolated individuals; who also, whatever he might have, appeared as if he were without it, and, with all his substantial acquirements, made as though his mind were a mere blank; and when insulted would not retaliate; this was ever his way.”

Again he said: “The man that is capable of being entrusted with the charge of a minor on the throne, and given authority over a large territory, and who, during the important term of his superintendence can not be forced out of his position, is not such a ‘superior man’? That he is, indeed.”

Again: “The learned official must not be without breadth and power of endurance: the burden is heavy, and the way is long.

“Suppose that he take his duty to his fellow-men as his

peculiar burden, is that not indeed a heavy one? And since only with death it is done with, is not the way long?"

Sentences of the Master:

"From the 'Book of Odes' we receive impulses; from the 'Book of the Rules,' stability; from the 'Book on Music,' refinement.¹⁶

"The people may be put into the way they should go, though they may not be put into the way of understanding it.

"The man who likes bravery, and yet groans under poverty, has mischief in him. So, too, has the misanthrope, groaning at any severity shown toward him.

"Even if a person were adorned with the gifts of the Duke of Chau, yet if he were proud and avaricious, all the rest of his qualities would not indeed be worth looking at.

"Not easily found is the man who, after three years' study, has failed to come upon some fruit of his toil.

"The really faithful lover of learning holds fast to the Good Way till death.

"He will not go into a State in which a downfall is imminent, nor take up his abode in one where disorder reigns. When the empire is well ordered he will show himself; when not, he will hide himself away. Under a good government it will be a disgrace to him if he remain in poverty and low estate; under a bad one, it would be equally disgraceful to him to hold riches and honors.

"If not occupying the office, devise not the policy.

"When the professor Chi began his duties, how grand the finale of the First of the Odes used to be! How it rang in one's ears!

"I can not understand persons who are enthusiastic and yet not straightforward; nor those who are ignorant and yet not attentive; nor again those folks who are simple-minded and yet untrue.

"Learn, as if never overtaking your object, and yet as if apprehensive of losing it.

¹⁶ This is a comparison of three Classics: the "Shih King," the "Li Ki," and the "Yoh." The last is lost.

“How sublime was the handling of the empire by Shun and Yu! — it was as nothing to them!

“How great was Yao as a prince! Was he not sublime! Say that Heaven only is great, then was Yao alone after its pattern! How profound was he! The people could not find a name for him. How sublime in his achievements! How brilliant in his scholarly productions!”

Shun had for his ministers five men, by whom he ordered the empire.

King Wu in his day stated that he had ten men as assistants for the promotion of order.

With reference to these facts Confucius observed, “Ability is hard to find. Is it not so indeed? During the three years’ interregnum between Yao and Shun there was more of it than in the interval before this present dynasty appeared. There were, at this latter period, one woman, and nine men only.

“When two-thirds of the empire were held by King Wan, he served with that portion the House of Yin. We speak of the virtue of the House of Chau; we may say, indeed, that it reached the pinnacle of excellence.”

“As to Yu,” added the Master, “I can find no flaw in him. Living on meager food and drink; yet providing to the utmost in his filial offerings to the spirits of the dead! Dressing in coarse garments; yet most elegant when vested in his sacrificial apron and coronet! Dwelling in a poor palace; yet exhausting his energies over those boundary-ditches and watercourses! I can find no flaw in Yu.”

BOOK IX.—A DISCIPLE’S OPINION

Topics on which the Master rarely spoke were: Advantage, and Destiny, and Duty of man to man.

A man of the village of Tah-hiang exclaimed to him, “A great man is Confucius! — a man of extensive learning, and yet in nothing has he quite made himself a name!”

The Master heard of this, and mentioning it to his disciples he said, “What then shall I take in hand? Shall I

become a carriage driver, or an archer? Let me be a driver!"

"The sacrificial cap," he once said, "should, according to the Rules, be of linen; but in these days it is of pure silk. However, as it is economical, I do as all do.

"The Rule says, 'Make your bow when at the lower end of the hall'; but nowadays the bowing is done at the upper part. This is great freedom; and I, though I go in opposition to the crowd, bow when at the lower end."

The Master barred four words: he would have no "shall's," no "must's," no "certainly's," no "I's."

Once, in the town of K'wang, fearing that his life was going to be taken, the Master exclaimed, "King Wan is dead and gone; but is not '*wan*'¹⁷ with you here? If Heaven be about to allow this '*wan*' to perish, then they who survive its decease will get no benefit from it. But so long as Heaven does not allow it to perish, what can the men of K'wang do to me?"

A high State official, after questioning Tsze-kung, said, "Your Master is a sage, then? How many and what varied abilities must be his!"

The disciple replied, "Certainly Heaven is allowing him full opportunities of becoming a sage, in addition to the fact that his abilities are many and varied."

When the Master heard of this he remarked, "Does that high official know me? In my early years my position in life was low, and hence my ability in many ways, though exercised in trifling matters. In the gentleman is there indeed such variety of ability? No."

From this, the disciple Lau used to say, "'Twas a saying of the Master: 'At a time when I was not called upon to use them, I acquired my proficiency in the polite arts.'"

¹⁷ *Wan* was the honorary appellation of the great sage and ruler, whose praise is in the "Shih King" as one of the founders of the Chau Dynasty, and the term represented civic talent and virtues, as distinct from *Wu*, the martial talent—the latter being the honorary title of his son and successor. *Wan* also often stands for literature, and polite accomplishments. Here Confucius simply means, "If you kill me, you kill a sage."

"Am I, indeed," said the Master, "possessed of knowledge? I know nothing. Let a vulgar fellow come to me with a question — a man with an emptyish head — I may trash out with him the matter from end to end, and exhaust myself in doing it!"

"Ah!" exclaimed he once, "the phoenix does not come! and no symbols issue from the river! May I not as well give up?"

Whenever the Master met with a person in mourning, or with one in full-dress cap and kirtle, or with a blind person, although they might be young persons, he would make a point of rising on their appearance, or, if crossing their path, would do so with quickened step!

Once Yen Yuen exclaimed with a sigh (with reference to the Master's doctrines), "If I look up to them, they are ever the higher; if I try to penetrate them, they are ever the harder; if I gaze at them as if before my eyes, lo, they are behind me! — Gradually and gently the Master with skill lures men on. By literary lore he gave me breadth; by the Rules of Propriety he narrowed me down. When I desire a respite, I find it impossible; and after I have exhausted my powers, there seems to be something standing straight up in front of me, and though I have the mind to make toward it I make no advance at all."

Once when the Master was seriously ill, Tsze-lu induced the other disciples to feign they were high officials acting in his service. During a respite from his malady the Master exclaimed, "Ah! how long has Tsze-lu's conduct been false? Whom should I delude, if I were to pretend to have officials under me, having none? Should I deceive Heaven? Besides, were I to die, I would rather die in the hands of yourselves, my disciples, than in the hands of officials. And though I should fail to have a grand funeral over me, I should hardly be left on my death on the public highway, should I?"

Tsze-kung once said to him, "Here is a fine gem. Would you guard it carefully in a casket and store it away, or seek a good price for it and sell it?" "Sell it, indeed," said

the Master — “that would I; but I should wait for the bidder.”

The Master protested he would “go and live among the nine wild tribes.”

“A rude life,” said some one; “how could you put up with it?”

“What rudeness would there be,” he replied, “if a ‘superior man’ was living in their midst?”

Once he remarked, “After I came back from Wei to Lu the music was put right, and each of the Festal Odes and Hymns was given its appropriate place and use.”

“Ah! which one of these following,” he asked on one occasion, “is to be found exemplified in me — proper service rendered to superiors when abroad; duty to father and elder brother when at home; duty that shrinks from no exertion when dear ones die; and keeping free from the confusing effects of wine?”

Standing once on the bank of a mountain stream, he said musingly, “Like this are those that pass away — no cessation, day or night!”

Other sayings:

“Take an illustration from the making of a hill. A simple basketful is wanting to complete it, and the work stops. So I stop short.

“Take an illustration from the leveling of the ground. Suppose again just one basketful is left, when the work has so progressed. There I desist!

“Ah! it was Hwui, was it not? who, when I had given him his lesson, was the unflagging one!

“Alas for Hwui! I saw him ever making progress. I never saw him stopping short.

“Blade, but no bloom — or else bloom, but no produce; aye, that is the way with some!

“Reverent regard is due to youth. How know we what difference there may be in them in the future from what they are now? Yet when they have reached the age of forty or fifty, and are still unknown in the world, then indeed they are no more worthy of such regard.

“Can any do otherwise than assent to words said to them by way of correction? Only let them reform by such advice, and it will then be reckoned valuable. Can any be other than pleased with words of gentle suasion? Only let them comply with them fully, and such also will be accounted valuable. With those who are pleased without so complying and those who assent but do not reform, I can do nothing at all.

“Give prominent place to loyalty and sincerity.

“Have no associates in study who are not advanced somewhat like yourself.

“When you have erred, be not afraid to correct yourself.

“It may be possible to seize and carry off the chief commander of a large army, but not possible so to rob one poor fellow of his will.

“One who stands — clad in hempen robe, the worse for wear — among others clad in furs of fox and badger, and yet unabashed — ’tis Tsze-lu, that, is it not?”

Tsze-lu used always to be humming over the lines —

“From envy and enmity free,
What deed doth he other than good?”

“How should such a rule of life,” asked the Master, “be sufficient to make any one good?”

“When the year grows chilly, we know the pine and cypress are the last to fade.

“The wise escape doubt; the good-hearted, trouble; the bold, apprehension.

“Some may study side by side, and yet be asunder when they come to the logic of things. Some may go on together in this latter course, but be wide apart in the standards they reach in it. Some, again, may together reach the same standard, and yet be diverse in weight of character.”

“The blossom is out on the cherry-tree,
With a flutter on every spray.
Dost think that my thoughts go not out to thee?
Ah, why art thou far away!”

Commenting on these lines the Master said, "There can hardly have been much 'thought going out.' What does distance signify?"

BOOK X.—IN PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL LIFE

In his own village, Confucius presented a somewhat plain and simple appearance, and looked unlike a man who possessed ability of speech.

But in the ancestral temple, and at Court, he spoke with the fluency and accuracy of a debater, but ever guardedly.

At Court, conversing with the lower order of great officials, he spoke somewhat firmly and directly; with those of the higher order his tone was somewhat more affable.

When the prince was present he was constrainedly reverent in his movements, and showed a proper degree of grave dignity in demeanor.

Whenever the prince summoned him to act as usher to the Court, his look would change somewhat, and he would make as though he were turning round to do obeisance.

He would salute those among whom he took up his position, using the right hand or the left, and holding the skirts of his robe in proper position before and behind. He would make his approaches with quick step, and with elbows evenly bent outward.

When the visitor withdrew, he would not fail to report the execution of his commands, with the words, "The visitor no longer looks back."

When he entered the palace-gate, it was with the body somewhat bent forward, almost as though he could not be admitted. When he stood still, this would never happen in the middle of the gateway; nor when moving about would he ever tread on the threshold. When passing the throne, his look would change somewhat, he would turn aside and make a sort of obeisance, and the words he spoke seemed as though he were deficient in utterance.

On going up the steps to the audience chamber, he would gather up with both hands the ends of his robe, and walk

with his body bent somewhat forward, holding back his breath like one in whom respiration had ceased. On coming out, after descending one step his countenance would relax and assume an appearance of satisfaction. Arrived at the bottom, he would go forward with quick step, his elbows evenly bent outward, back to his position, constrainedly reverent in every movement.

When holding the scepter in his hand, his body would be somewhat bent forward, as if he were not equal to carrying it; wielding it now higher, as in a salutation, now lower, as in the presentation of a gift; his look would also be changed and appear awestruck; and his gait would seem retarded, as if he were obeying some restraining hand behind.

When he presented the gifts of ceremony, he would assume a placid expression of countenance. At the private interview he would be cordial and affable.

The good man would use no purple or violet colors for the facings of his dress.¹⁸ Nor would he have red or orange color for his undress.¹⁹ For the hot season he wore a singlet, of either coarse or fine texture, but would also feel bound to have an outer garment covering it. For his black robe he had lamb's wool; for his white one, fawn's fur; and for his yellow one, fox fur. His furred undress robe was longer, but the right sleeve was shortened. He would needs have his sleeping-dress one and a half times his own length. For ordinary home wear he used thick substantial fox or badger furs. When he left off mourning, he would wear all his girdle trinkets. His kirtle in front, when it was not needed for full cover, he must needs have cut down. He would never wear his black lamb's-wool, or a dark-colored cap, when he went on visits of condolence to mourners.²⁰ On the first day of the new moon, he must have on his Court dress, and to Court. When observing his fasts he made a

¹⁸ Because, it is said, such colors were adopted in fasting and mourning.

¹⁹ Because they did not belong to the five correct colors (*viz.*: green, yellow, carnation, white, and black), and were affected more by females.

²⁰ Since white was, as it is still, the mourning color.

point of having bright, shiny garments, made of linen. He must also at such times vary his food, and move his seat to another part of his dwelling-room.

As to his food, he never tired of rice so long as it was clean and pure, nor of hashed meats when finely minced. Rice spoiled by damp, and sour, he would not touch, nor tainted fish, nor bad meat, nor aught of a bad color or smell, nor aught overdone in cooking, nor aught out of season. Neither would he eat anything that was not properly cut, or that lacked its proper seasonings. Although there might be an abundance of meat before him, he would not allow a preponderance of it to rob the rice of its beneficial effect in nutrition. Only in the matter of wine did he set himself no limit, yet he never drank so much as to confuse himself. Tradesmen's wines, and dried meats from the market, he would not touch. Ginger he would never have removed from the table during a meal. He was not a great eater. Meat from the sacrifices at the prince's temple he would never put aside till the following day. The meat of his own offerings he would never give out after three days' keeping, for after that time none were to eat it.

At his meals he would enter into discussions; and when reposing afterward he would not utter a word.

Even should his meal consist only of coarse rice and vegetable broth or melons, he would make an offering, and never fail to do so religiously.

He would never sit on a mat that was not straight.

After a feast among his villagers, he would wait before going away until the old men had left.

When the village people were exorcising the pests, he would put on his Court robes and stand on the steps of his hall to receive them.

When he was sending a message of inquiry to a person in another State, he would bow twice on seeing the messenger off.

Ki K'ang once sent him a present of some medicine. He bowed, and received it; but remarked, "Until I am quite sure of its properties I must not venture to taste it."

Once when the stabling was destroyed by fire, he withdrew from the Court, and asked, "Is any person injured?" — without inquiring as to the horses.

Whenever the prince sent him a present of food, he was particular to set his mat in proper order, and would be the first one to taste it. If the prince's present was one of raw meat, he must needs have it cooked, and make an oblation of it. If the gift were a live animal, he would be sure to keep it and care for it.

When he was in waiting, and at a meal with the prince, the prince would make the offering,²¹ and he (the Master) was the pregustator.

When unwell, and the prince came to see him, he would arrange his position so that his head inclined toward the east, would put over him his Court robes, and draw his girdle across them.

When summoned by order of the prince, he would start off without waiting for his horses to be put to.

On his entry into the Grand Temple, he inquired about everything connected with its usages.

If a friend died, and there were no near relatives to take him to, he would say, "Let him be buried from my house."

For a friend's gift — unless it consisted of meat that had been offered in sacrifice — he would not bow, even if it were a carriage and horses.

In repose he did not lie like one dead. In his home life he was not formal in his manner.

Whenever he met with a person in mourning, even though it were a familiar acquaintance, he would be certain to change his manner; and when he met with any one in full-dress cap, or with any blind person, he would also unflinchingly put on a different look, even though he were himself in undress at the time.

In saluting any person wearing mourning he would bow forwards toward the front bar of his carriage; in the same manner he would also salute the bearer of a census-register.

When a sumptuous banquet was spread before him, a dif-

²¹ The act of "grace," before eating.

ferent expression would be sure to appear in his features, and he would rise up from his seat.

At a sudden thunder-clap, or when the wind grew furious, his look would also invariably be changed.

On getting into his car, he would never fail first to stand up erect, holding on by the strap. When in the car, he would never look about, nor speak hastily, nor bring one hand to the other.

“Let one but make a movement in his face,
And the bird will rise and seek some safer place.”

Apropos of this, he said, “Here is a hen-pheasant from Shan Liang—and in season! and in season!” After Tsze-lu had got it prepared, he smelt it thrice, and then rose up from his seat.

BOOK XI.—WORTH OF HIS DISCIPLES

“The first to make progress in the Proprieties and in Music,” said the Master, “are plain countrymen; after them, the men of higher standing. If I had to employ any of them, I should stand by the former.”

“Of those,” said he, “who were about me when I was in the Ch’in and Ts’ai States, not one now is left to approach my door.”

“As for Hwui,”²² said the Master, “he is not one to help me on: there is nothing I say but he is not well satisfied with.”

“What a dutiful son was Min Tsze-k’ien!” he exclaimed. “No one finds occasion to differ from what his parents and brothers have said of him.”

Nan Yung used to repeat three times over the lines in the Odes about the white scepter. Confucius caused his own elder brother’s daughter to be given in marriage to him.

When Ki K’ang inquired which of the disciples were fond

²²The men of virtuous life were Yen Yuen (Hwui), Min Tsze-k’ien, Yen Pih-niu, and Chung-kung (Yen Yung); the speakers and debaters were Tsai Wo and Tsze-kung; the (capable) government servants were Yen Yu and Tsze-lu; the literary students, Tsze-yu and Tsze-hia.

of learning, Confucius answered him, "There was one Yen Hwui who was fond of it; but unfortunately his allotted time was short, and he died; and now his like is not to be found."

When Yen Yuen died, his father, Yen Lu, begged for the Master's carriage in order to get a shell for his coffin. "Ability or no ability," said the Master, "every father still speaks of 'my son.' When my own son Li died, and the coffin for him had no shell to it, I know I did not go on foot to get him one; but that was because I was, though retired, in the wake of the ministers, and could not therefore well do so."

On the death of Yen Yuen the Master exclaimed, "Ah, me! Heaven is ruining me, Heaven is ruining me!"

On the same occasion, his wailing for that disciple becoming excessive, those who were about him said, "Sir, this is too much!"—"Too much?" said he; "if I am not to do so for him, then — for whom else?"

The disciples then wished for the deceased a grand funeral. The Master could not on his part consent to this. They nevertheless gave him one. Upon this he remarked, "He used to look upon me as if I were his father. I could never, however, look on him as a son. 'Twas not my mistake, but yours, my children."

Tsze-lu propounded a question about ministering to the spirits of the departed. The Master replied, "Where there is scarcely the ability to minister to living men, how shall there be ability to minister to the spirits?" On his venturing to put a question concerning death, he answered, "Where there is scarcely any knowledge about life, how shall there be any about death?"

The disciple Min was by his side, looking affable and bland; Tsze-lu also, looking careless and intrepid; and Yen Yu and Tsze-kung, firm and precise. The Master was cheery. "One like Tsze-lu there," said he, "does not come to a natural end."

Some persons in Lu were taking measures in regard to the Long Treasury House. Min Tsze-k'ien observed, "How

if it were repaired on the old lines?" The Master upon this remarked, "This fellow is not a talker, but when he does speak he is bound to hit the mark!"

"There is Yu's harpsichord," exclaimed the Master — "what is it doing at my door?" On seeing, however, some disrespect shown to him by the other disciples, he added, "Yu has got as far as the top of the hall; only he has not yet entered the house."

Tsze-kung asked which was the worthier of the two — Tsze-chang or Tsze-hia. "The former," answered the Master, "goes beyond the mark; the latter falls short of it."

"So then Tsze-chang is the better of the two, is he?" said he.

"To go too far," he replied, "is about the same as to fall short."

The Chief of the Ki family was a wealthier man than the Duke of Chau had been, and yet Yen Yu gathered and hoarded for him, increasing his wealth more and more.

"He is no follower of mine," said the Master. "It would serve him right, my children, to sound the drum, and set upon him."

Characteristics of four disciples: Tsze-kau was simple-minded; Tsang Si, a dullard; Tsze-chang, full of airs; Tsze-lu, rough.

"As to Hwui," said the Master, "he comes near to perfection, while frequently in great want. Tsze-kung does not submit to the appointments of Heaven; and yet his goods are increased; he is often successful in his calculations."

Tsze-chang wanted to know some marks of the naturally Good Man.

"He does not walk in others' footprints," said the Master; "yet he does not get beyond the hall into the house."

Once the Master said, "Because we allow that a man's words have something genuine in them, are they necessarily those of a superior man? or words carrying only an outward semblance and show of gravity?"

Tsze-lu put a question about the practise of precepts one has heard. The Master's reply was, "In a case where there

is a father or elder brother still left with you, how should you practise all you hear?"

When, however, the same question was put to him by Yen Yu, his reply was, "Yes; do so."

Kung-si Hwa animadverted upon this to the Master. "Tsze-lu asked you, sir," said he, "about the practise of what one has learnt, and you said, 'There may be a father or elder brother still alive'; but when Yen Yu asked the same question, you answered, 'Yes, do so.' I am at a loss to understand you, and venture to ask what you meant."

The Master replied, "Yen Yu backs out of his duties; therefore I push him on. Tsze-lu has forwardness enough for them both; therefore I hold him back."

On the occasion of that time of fear in K'wang, Yen Yuen having fallen behind, the Master said to him afterward, "I took it for granted you were a dead man." "How should I dare to die," said he, "while you, sir, still lived?"

On Ki Tsze-jen putting to him a question anent Tsze-lu and Yen Yu, as to whether they might be called "great ministers," the Master answered, "I had expected your question, sir, to be about something extraordinary, and lo! it is only about these two. Those whom we call 'great ministers' are such as serve their prince conscientiously, and who, when they can not do so, retire. At present, as regards the two you ask about, they may be called 'qualified ministers.'"

"Well, are they then," he asked, "such as will follow their leader?"

"They would not follow him who should slay his father and his prince!" was the reply.

Through the intervention of Tsze-lu, Tsze-kau was being appointed governor of Pi.

"You are spoiling a good man's son," said the Master.

Tsze-lu rejoined, "But he will have the people and their superiors to gain experience from, and there will be the altars; what need to read books? He can become a student afterward."

"Here is the reason for my hatred of glib-tongued people," said the Master.

On one occasion Tsze-lu, Tsang Sin, Yen Yu, and Kung-si Hwa were sitting near him. He said to them, "Though I may be a day older than you, do not for the moment regard me as such. While you are living this unoccupied life you are saying, 'We do not become known.' Now suppose some one got to know you, what then?"

Tsze-lu — first to speak — at once answered, "Give me a State of large size and armament, hemmed in and hampered by other larger States, the population augmented by armies and regiments, causing a dearth in it of food of all kinds; give me charge of that State, and in three years' time I should make a brave country of it, and let it know its place."

The Master smiled at him. "Yen," said he, "how would it be with you?"

"Give me," said Yen, "a territory of sixty or seventy li square, or of fifty or sixty square; put me in charge of that, and in three years I should make the people sufficiently prosperous. As regards their knowledge of ceremonial or music, I should wait for superior men to teach them that."

"And with you, Kung-si, how would it be?"

This disciple's reply was, "I have nothing to say about my capabilities for such matters; my wish is to learn. I should like to be a junior assistant, in dark robe and cap, at the services of the ancestral temple, and at the Grand Receptions of the Princes by the Sovereign."

"And with you, Tsang Sin?"

This disciple was strumming on his harpsichord, but now the twanging ceased, he turned from the instrument, rose to his feet, and answered thus: "Something different from the choice of these three." "What harm?" said the Master; "I want each one of you to tell me what his heart is set upon." "Well, then," said he, "give me — in the latter part of spring — dressed in full spring-tide attire — in company with five or six young fellows of twenty, or six or seven lads under that age, to do the ablutions in the I stream, enjoy a breeze in the rain-dance, and finish up with songs on the road home."

The Master drew in his breath, sighed, and exclaimed, "Ah, I take with you!"

The three other disciples having gone out, leaving Tsang Sin behind, the latter said, "What think you of the answers of those three?"—"Well, each told me what was uppermost in his mind," said the Master; "simply that."

"Why did you smile at Tsze-lu, sir?"

"I smiled at him because to have the charge of a State requires due regard to the Rules of Propriety, and his words betrayed a lack of modesty."

"But Yen, then — he had a State in view, had he not?"

"I should like to be shown a territory such as he described which does not amount to a State."

"But had not Kung-si also a State in view?"

"What are ancestral temples and Grand Receptions, but for the feudal lords to take part in? If Kung-si were to become an unimportant assistant at these functions, who could become an important one?"

BOOK XII.—FRIENDSHIPS

Yen Yuen was asking about a man's proper regard for his fellow-man. The Master said to him, "Self-control, and a habit of falling back upon propriety, virtually effect it. Let these conditions be fulfilled for one day, and every one round will betake himself to the duty. Is it to begin in one's self, or think you, indeed! it is to begin in others?"

"I wanted you to be good enough," said Yen Yuen, "to give me a brief synopsis of it."

Then said the Master, "without Propriety use not your eyes; without it use not your ears, nor your tongue, nor a limb of your body."

"I may be lacking in diligence," said Yen Yuen, "but with your favor I will endeavor to carry out this advice."

Chung-kung asked about man's proper regard for his fellows.

To him the Master replied thus: "When you go forth

from your door, be as if you were meeting some guest of importance. When you are making use of the common people for State purposes, be as if you were taking part in a great religious function. Do not set before others what you do not desire yourself. Let there be no resentful feelings against you when you are away in the country, and none when at home."

"I may lack diligence," said Chung-kung, "but with your favor I will endeavor to carry out this advice."

Sze-ma Niu asked the like question. The answer he received was this: "The words of the man who has a proper regard for his fellows are uttered with difficulty."

"His word — uttered with difficulty?" he echoed, in surprise. "Is that what is meant by proper regard for one's fellow-creatures?"

"Where there is difficulty in doing," the Master replied, "will there not be some difficulty in utterance?"

The same disciple put a question about the "superior man." "Superior men," he replied, "are free from trouble and apprehension."

"Free from trouble and apprehension!" said he. "Does that make them 'superior men'?"

The Master added, "Where there is found, upon introspection, to be no chronic disease, how shall there be any trouble? how shall there be any apprehension?"

The same disciple, being in trouble, remarked, "I am alone in having no brother, while all else have theirs — younger or elder."

Tsze-hia said to him, "I have heard this: 'Death and life have destined times; wealth and honors rest with Heaven. Let the superior man keep watch over himself without ceasing, showing deference to others, with propriety of manners — and all within the four seas will be his brethren. How should he be distressed for lack of brothers!'"

Tsze-chang asked what sort of man might be termed "enlightened."

The Master replied, "That man, with whom drenching slander and cutting calumny gain no currency, may well be

called enlightened. Aye, he with whom such things make no way may well be called enlightened in the extreme."

Tsze-kung put a question relative to government. In reply the Master mentioned three essentials: sufficient food, sufficient armament, and the people's confidence.

"But," said the disciple, "if you can not really have all three, and one has to be given up, which would you give up first?"

"The armament," he replied.

"And if you are obliged to give up one of the remaining two, which would it be?"

"The food," said he. "Death has been the portion of all men from of old. Without the people's trust nothing can stand."

Kih Tsze-shing once said, "Give me the inborn qualities of a gentleman, and I want no more. How are such to come from book-learning?"

Tsze-kung exclaimed, "Ah! sir, I regret to hear such words from you. A gentleman! — But 'a team of four can ne'er o'ertake the tongue!' Literary accomplishments are much the same as inborn qualities, and inborn qualities as literary accomplishments. A tiger's or leopard's skin without the hair might be a dog's or sheep's when so made bare."

Duke Ngai was consulting Yu Joh. Said he, "It is a year of dearth, and there is an insufficiency for Ways and Means — what am I to do?"

"Why not apply the Tithing Statute?" said the minister.

"But two tithings would not be enough for my purposes," said the duke; "what would be the good of applying the Statute?"

The minister replied, "So long as the people have enough left for themselves, who of them will allow their prince to be without enough? But — when the people have not enough, who will allow their prince all that he wants?"

Tsze-chang was asking how the standard of virtue was to be raised, and how to discern what was illusory or misleading. The Master's answer was, "Give a foremost place to honesty and faithfulness, and tread the path of righteousness,

and you will raise the standard of virtue. As to discerning what is illusory, here is an example of an illusion: Whom you love you wish to live; whom you hate you wish to die. To have wished the same person to live and also to be dead — there is an illusion for you."

Duke King of Ts'i consulted Confucius about government. His answer was, "Let a prince be a prince, and ministers be ministers; let fathers be fathers, and sons be sons."

"Good!" exclaimed the duke; "truly if a prince fail to be a prince, and ministers to be ministers, and if fathers be not fathers, and sons not sons, then, even though I may have my allowance of grain, should I ever be able to relish it?"

"The man to decide a cause with half a word," exclaimed the Master, "is Tsze-lu!"

Tsze-lu never let a night pass between promise and performance.

"In hearing causes, I am like other men," said the Master. "The great point is — to prevent litigation."

Tsze-chang having raised some question about government, the Master said to him, "In the settlement of its principles be unwearied; in its administration — see to that loyally."

"The man of wide research," said he, "who also restrains himself by the Rules of Propriety, is not unlikely to transgress."

Again, "The noble-minded man makes the most of others' good qualities, not the worst of their bad ones. Men of small mind do the reverse of this."

Ki K'ang was consulting him about the direction of public affairs. Confucius answered him, "A director should be himself correct. If you, sir, as a leader show correctness, who will dare not to be correct?"

Ki K'ang, being much troubled on account of robbers abroad, consulted Confucius on the matter. He received this reply: "If you, sir, were not covetous, neither would they steal, even were you to bribe them to do so."

Ki K'ang, when consulting Confucius about the government, said, "Suppose I were to put to death the disorderly

for the better encouragement of the orderly — what say you to that?”

“Sir,” replied Confucius, “in the administration of government why resort to capital punishment? Covet what is good, and the people will be good. The virtue of the noble-minded man is as the wind, and that of inferior men as grass; the grass must bend, when the wind blows upon it.”

Tsze-chang asked how otherwise he would describe the learned official who might be termed influential.

“What, I wonder, do you mean by one who is influential?” said the Master.

“I mean,” replied the disciple, “one who is sure to have a reputation throughout the country, as well as at home.”

“That,” said the Master, “is reputation, not influence. The influential man, then, if he be one who is genuinely straightforward and loves what is just and right, a discriminator of men’s words, and an observer of their looks, and in honor careful to prefer others to himself — will certainly have influence, both throughout the country and at home. The man of mere reputation, on the other hand, who speciously affects philanthropy, though in his way of procedure he acts contrary to it, while yet quite evidently engrossed with that virtue — will certainly have reputation, both in the country and at home.”

Fan Ch’i, strolling with him over the ground below the place of the rain-dance, said to him, “I venture to ask how to raise the standard of virtue, how to reform dissolute habits, and how to discern what is illusory?”

“Ah! a good question indeed!” he exclaimed. “Well, is not putting duty first, and success second, a way of raising the standard of virtue? And is not attacking the evil in one’s self, and not the evil which is in others, a way of reforming dissolute habits? And as to illusions, is not one morning’s fit of anger, causing a man to forget himself, and even involving in the consequences those who are near and dear to him — is not that an illusion?”

The same disciple asked him what was meant by “a right

regard for one's fellow-creatures." He replied, "It is love to man."

Asked by him again what was meant by wisdom, he replied, "It is knowledge of man."

Fan Ch'i did not quite grasp his meaning.

The Master went on to say, "Lift up the straight, set aside the crooked, so can you make the crooked straight."

Fan Ch'i left him, and meeting with Tsze-hia he said, "I had an interview just now with the Master, and I asked him what wisdom was. In his answer he said, 'Lift up the straight, set aside the crooked, and so can you make the crooked straight.' What was his meaning?"

"Ah! words rich in meaning, those," said the other. "When Shun was emperor, and was selecting his men from among the multitude, he 'lifted up' Kau-yau; and men devoid of right feelings toward their kind went far away. And when Thang was emperor, and chose out his men from the crowd, he 'lifted up' I-yin — with the same result."

Tsze-kung was consulting him about a friend. "Speak to him frankly, and respectfully," said the Master, "and gently lead him on. If you do not succeed, then stop; do not submit yourself to indignity."

The learned Tsang observed, "In the society of books the 'superior man' collects his friends; in the society of his friends he is furthering good-will among men."

BOOK XIII.—CONSISTENCY

Tsze-lu was asking about government. "Lead the way in it," said the Master, "and work hard at it."

Requested to say more he added, "And do not tire of it."

Chung-kung, on being made first minister to the Chief of the Ki family, consulted the Master about government, and to him he said, "Let the heads of offices be heads. Excuse small faults. Promote men of sagacity and talent."

"But," he asked, "how am I to know the sagacious and talented, before promoting them?"

"Promote those whom you do know," said the Master.

“As to those of whom you are uncertain, will others omit to notice them?”

Tsze-lu said to the Master, “As the prince of Wei, sir, has been waiting for you to act for him in his government, what is it your intention to take in hand first?”

“One thing of necessity,” he answered — “the rectification of terms.”

“That!” exclaimed Tsze-lu. “How far away you are, sir! Why such rectification?”

“What a rustic you are, Tsze-lu!” rejoined the Master. “A gentleman would be a little reserved and reticent in matters which he does not understand. If terms be incorrect, language will be incongruous; and if language be incongruous, deeds will be imperfect. So, again, when deeds are imperfect, propriety and harmony can not prevail, and when this is the case laws relating to crime will fail in their aim; and if these last so fail, the people will not know where to set hand or foot. Hence, a man of superior mind, certain first of his terms, is fitted to speak; and being certain of what he says can proceed upon it. In the language of such a person there is nothing heedlessly irregular — and that is the sum of the matter.”

Fan Ch’i requested that he might learn something of husbandry. “For that,” said the Master, “I am not equal to an old husbandman.” Might he then learn something of gardening? he asked. “I am not equal to an old gardener,” was the reply.

“A man of little mind, that!” said the Master, when Fan Ch’i had gone out. “Let a man who is set over the people love propriety, and they will not presume to be disrespectful. Let him be a lover of righteousness, and they will not presume to be aught but submissive. Let him love faithfulness and truth, and they will not presume not to lend him their hearty assistance. Ah, if all this only were so, the people from all sides would come to such a one, carrying their children on their backs. What need to turn his hand to husbandry?”

“Though a man,” said he, “could hum through the Odes

— the three hundred — yet should show himself unskilled when given some administrative work to do for his country; though he might know much of that other lore, yet if, when sent on a mission to any quarter, he could answer no question personally and unaided, what after all is he good for?”

“Let a leader,” said he, “show rectitude in his own personal character, and even without directions from him things will go well. If he be not personally upright, his directions will not be complied with.”

Once he made the remark, “The governments of Lu and of Wei are in brotherhood.”

Of King, a son of the Duke of Wei, he observed that “he managed his household matters well. On his coming into possession, he thought, ‘What a strange conglomeration!’— Coming to possess a little more, it was, ‘Strange, such a result!’ And when he became wealthy, ‘Strange, such elegance!’”

The Master was on a journey to Wei, and Yen Yu was driving him. “What multitudes of people!” he exclaimed. Yen Yu asked him, “Seeing they are so numerous, what more would you do for them?”

“Enrich them,” replied the Master.

“And after enriching them, what more would you do for them?”

“Instruct them.”

“Were any one of our princes to employ me,” he said, “after a twelvemonth I might have made some tolerable progress; but give me three years, and my work should be done.”

Again, “How true is that saying, ‘Let good men have the management of a country for a century, and they would be adequate to cope with evil-doers, and thus do away with capital punishments.’”

Again, “Suppose the ruler to possess true kingly qualities, then surely after one generation there would be good-will among men.”

Again, “Let a ruler but see to his own rectitude, and what

trouble will he then have in the work before him? If he be unable to rectify himself, how is he to rectify others?"

Once when Yen Yu was leaving the Court, the Master accosted him. "Why so late?" he asked. "Busy with legislation," Yen replied. "The details of it," suggested the Master; "had it been legislation, I should have been there to hear it, even though I am not in office."

Duke Ting asked if there were one sentence which, if acted upon, might have the effect of making a country prosperous.

Confucius answered, "A sentence could hardly be supposed to do so much as that. But there is a proverb people use which says, 'To play the prince is hard, to play the minister not easy.' Assuming that it is understood that 'to play the prince is hard,' would it not be probable that with that one sentence the country should be made to prosper?"

"Is there, then," he asked, "one sentence which, if acted upon, would have the effect of ruining a country?"

Confucius again replied, "A sentence could hardly be supposed to do so much as that. But there is a proverb men have which says, 'Not gladly would I play the prince, unless my words were ne'er withstood.' Assuming that the words were good, and that none withstood them, would not that also be good? But assuming that they were not good, and yet none withstood them, would it not be probable that with that one saying he would work his country's ruin?"

When the Duke of Sheh consulted him about government, he replied, "Where the near are gratified, the far will follow."

When Tsze-hai became governor of Ku-fu, and consulted him about government, he answered, "Do not wish for speedy results. Do not look at trivial advantages. If you wish for speedy results, they will not be far-reaching; and if you regard trivial advantages you will not successfully deal with important affairs."

The Duke of Sheh in a conversation with Confucius said, "There are some straightforward persons in my neighborhood. If a father has stolen a sheep, the son will give evidence against him."

“Straightforward people in my neighborhood are different from those,” said Confucius. “The father will hold a thing secret on his son’s behalf, and the son does the same for his father. They are on their way to becoming straightforward.”

Fan Ch’i was asking him about duty to one’s fellow-men. “Be courteous,” he replied, “in your private sphere; be serious in any duty you take in hand to do; be leal-hearted in your intercourse with others. Even though you were to go amongst the wild tribes, it would not be right for you to neglect these duties.”

In answer to Tsze-kung, who asked, “how he would characterize one who could fitly be called ‘learned official,’” the Master said, “He may be so-called who in his private life is affected with a sense of his own unworthiness, and who, when sent on a mission to any quarter of the empire, would not disgrace his prince’s commands.”

“May I presume,” said his questioner, “to ask what sort you would put next to such?”

“Him who is spoken of by his kinsmen as a dutiful son, and whom the folks of his neighborhood call ‘good brother.’”

“May I still venture to ask whom you would place next in order?”

“Such as are sure to be true to their word, and effective in their work — who are given to hammering, as it were, upon one note — of inferior caliber indeed, but fit enough, I think, to be ranked next.”

“How would you describe those who are at present in the government service?”

“Ugh! mere peck and panier men! — not worth taking into the reckoning.”

Once he remarked, “If I can not get *via media* men to impart instruction to, then I must of course take the impetuous and undisciplined! The impetuous ones will at least go forward and lay hold on things; and the undisciplined have at least something in them which needs to be brought out.”

“The Southerners,” said he, “have the proverb, ‘The man who sticks not to rule will never make a charm-worker or a

medical man.' Good! — 'Whoever is intermittent in his practise of virtue will live to be ashamed of it.' Without prognostication," he added, "that will indeed be so."

"The nobler-minded man," he remarked, "will be agreeable even when he disagrees; the small-minded man will agree and be disagreeable."

Tsze-kung was consulting him, and asked, "What say you of a person who was liked by all in his village?"

"That will scarcely do," he answered.

"What, then, if they all disliked him?"

"That, too," said he, "is scarcely enough. Better if he were liked by the good folk in the village, and disliked by the bad."

"The superior man," he once observed, "is easy to serve, but difficult to please. Try to please him by the adoption of wrong principles, and you will fail. Also, when such a one employs others, he uses them according to their capacity. The inferior man is, on the other hand, difficult to serve, but easy to please. Try to please him by the adoption of wrong principles, and you will succeed. And when he employs others he requires them to be fully prepared for everything."

Again, "The superior man can be high without being haughty. The inferior man can be haughty if not high."

"The firm, the unflinching, the plain and simple, the slow to speak," said he once, "are approximating toward their duty to their fellow-men."

Tsze-lu asked how he would characterize one who might fitly be called an educated gentleman. The Master replied, "He who can properly be so-called will have in him a seriousness of purpose, a habit of controlling himself, and an agreeableness of manner: among his friends and associates the seriousness and the self-control, and among his brethren the agreeableness of manner."

"Let good and able men discipline the people for seven years," said the Master, "and after that they may do to go to war."

But said he, "To lead an undisciplined people to war — that I call throwing them away."

BOOK XIV.—GOOD AND BAD GOVERNMENT

Yuen Sze asked what might be considered to bring shame on one.

“Pay,” said the Master; “pay — ever looking to that, whether the country be well or badly governed.”

“When imperiousness, boastfulness, resentments, and covetousness cease to prevail among the people, may it be considered that mutual good-will has been effected?” To this question the Master replied, “A hard thing overcome, it may be considered. But as to the mutual good-will — I can not tell.”

“Learned officials,” said he, “who hanker after a home life, are not worthy of being esteemed as such.”

Again, “In a country under good government, speak boldly, act boldly. When the land is ill-governed, though you act boldly, let your words be moderate.”

Again, “Men of virtue will needs be men of words — will speak out — but men of words are not necessarily men of virtue. They who care for their fellow-men will needs be bold, but the bold may not necessarily be such as care for their fellow-men.”

Nan-kung Kwoh, who was consulting Confucius, observed respecting I, the skilful archer, and Ngau, who could propel a boat on dry land, that neither of them died a natural death; while Yu and Tish, who with their own hands had labored at husbandry, came to wield imperial sway.

The Master gave him no reply. But when the speaker had gone out he exclaimed, “A superior man, that! A man who values virtue, that!”

“There have been noble-minded men,” said he, “who yet were wanting in philanthropy; but never has there been a small-minded man who had philanthropy in him.”

He asked, “Can any one refuse to toil for those he loves? Can any one refuse to exhort, who is true-hearted?”

Speaking of the preparation of Government Notifications in his day he said, “P’i would draw up a rough sketch of what was to be said; the Shishuh then looked it carefully

through and put it into proper shape; Tsze-yu next, who was master of the ceremonial of State intercourse, improved and adorned its phrases; and Tsze-ch'an of Tung-li added his scholarly embellishments thereto."

To some one who asked his opinion of the last-named, he said, "He was a kind-hearted man." Asked what he thought of Tsze-si, he exclaimed, "Alas for him! alas for him!" — Asked again about Kwan Chung, his answer was, "As to him, he once seized the town of P'in with its three hundred families from the Chief of the Pih clan, who, afterward reduced to living upon coarse rice, with all his teeth gone, never uttered a word of complaint."

"It is no light thing," said he, "to endure poverty uncomplainingly; and a difficult thing to bear wealth without becoming arrogant."

Respecting Mang Kung-ch'oh, he said that, while he was fitted for something better than the post of chief officer in the Chau or Wei families, he was not competent to act as minister in small States like those of Thang or Sieh.

Tsze-lu asked how he would describe a perfect man. He replied, "Let a man have the sagacity of Tsang Wu-chung, the freedom from covetousness of Kun-ch'oh, the boldness of Chwang of P'in, and the attainments in polite arts of Yen Yu; and gift him further with the graces taught by the 'Books of Rites' and 'Music'—then he may be considered a perfect man. But," said he, "what need of such in these days? The man that may be regarded as perfect now is the one who, seeing some advantage to himself, is mindful of righteousness; who, seeing danger, risks his life; and who, if bound by some covenant of long standing, never forgets its conditions as life goes on."

Respecting Kung-shuh Wan, the Master inquired of Kung-ming Kia, saying, "Is it true that your master never speaks, never laughs, never takes aught from others?"

"Those who told you that of him," said he, "have gone too far. My master speaks when there is occasion to do so, and men are not surfeited with his speaking. When there is occasion to be merry too, he will laugh, but men have never

over-much of his laughing. And whenever it is just and right to take things from others, he will take them, but never so as to allow men to think him burdensome." "Is that the case with him?" said the Master. "Can it be so?"

Respecting Tsang Wu-chung the Master said, "When he sought from Lu the appointment of a successor to him, and for this object held on to his possession of the fortified city of Fang — if you say he was not then using constraint toward his prince, I must refuse to believe it."

Duke Wan of Tsin he characterized as "artful but not upright"; and Duke Hwan of Ts'i as "upright but not artful."

Tsze-lu remarked, "When Duke Hwan caused his brother Kiu to be put to death, Shau Hwuh committed suicide, but Kwan Chung did not. I should say he was not a man who had much good-will in him — eh?"

The Master replied, "When Duke Hwan held a great gathering of the feudal lords, dispensing with military equipage, it was owing to Kwan Chung's energy that such an event was brought about. Match such good-will as that — match it if you can."

Tsze-kung then spoke up. "But was not Kwan Chung wanting in good-will? He could not give up his life when Duke Hwan caused his brother to be put to death. Besides, he became the duke's counselor."

"And in acting as his counselor put him at the head of all the feudal lords," said the Master, "he unified and reformed the whole empire; and the people, even to this day, reap benefit from what he did. Had it not been for him we should have been going about with locks unkempt and buttoning our jackets, like barbarians, on the left. Would you suppose that he should show the same sort of attachment as exists between a poor yokel and his one wife — that he would asphyxiate himself in some sewer, leaving no one the wiser?"

Kung-shuh Wan's steward, who became the high officer Sien, went up accompanied by Wan to the prince's hall of audience.

When Confucius heard of this he remarked, "He may well be esteemed a 'Wan.'"

The Master having made some reference to the lawless ways of Duke Ling of Wei, Ki K'ang said to him, "If he be like that, how is it he does not ruin his position?"

Confucius answered, "The Chung-shuh, Yu, is charged with the entertainment of visitors and strangers; the priest Tho has charge of the ancestral temple; and Wang-sun Kia has the control of the army and its divisions; with men such as those, how should he come to ruin?"

He once remarked, "He who is unblushing in his words will with difficulty substantiate them."

Ch'in Shing had slain Duke Kien. Hearing of this, Confucius, after performing his ablutions, went to Court and announced the news to Duke Ngai, saying, "Ch'in Hang has slain his prince. May I request that you proceed against him?"

"Inform the Chief of the Three Families," said the duke.

Soliloquizing upon this, Confucius said, "Since he uses me to back his ministers,²³ I did not dare not to announce the matter to him; and now he says, 'Inform the Three Chiefs.'"

He went to the Three Chiefs and informed them, but nothing could be done. Whereupon again he said, "Since he uses me to back his ministers, I did not dare not to announce the matter."

Tsze-lu was questioning him as to how he should serve his prince. "Deceive him not, but reprove him," he answered.

"The minds of superior men," he observed, "trend upward; those of inferior men trend downward."

Again, "Students of old fixed their eyes upon themselves: now they learn with their eyes upon others."

Ku Pih-yuh dispatched a man with a message to Confucius. Confucius gave him a seat, and among other inquiries he asked, "How is your master managing?" "My master," he replied, "has a great wish to be seldom at fault, and as yet he can not manage it."

²³ Confucius had now retired from office, and this incident occurred only two years before his death.

“What a messenger!” exclaimed he, admiringly, when the man went out. “What a messenger!”

“When not occupying the office,” was a remark of his, “devise not the policy.”

The Learned Tsang used to say, “The thoughts of the ‘superior man’ do not wander from his own office.”

“Superior men,” said the Master, “are modest in their words, profuse in their deeds.”

Again, “There are three attainments of the superior man which are beyond me — the being sympathetic without anxiety, wise without skepticism, brave without fear.”

“Sir,” said Tsze-kung, “that is what you say of yourself.”

Whenever Tsze-kung drew comparisons from others, the Master would say, “Ah, how wise and great you must have become! Now I have no time to do that.”

Again, “My great concern is, not that men do not know me, but that they can not.”

Again, “If a man refrain from making preparations against his being imposed upon, and from counting upon others’ want of good faith toward him, while he is foremost to perceive what is passing — surely that is a wise and good man.”

Wi-shang Mau accosted Confucius, saying, “Kiu, how comes it that you manage to go perching and roosting in this way? Is it not because you show yourself so smart a speaker, now?”

“I should not dare do that,” said Confucius. “’Tis that I am sick of men’s immovableness and deafness to reason.”

“In a well-bred horse,” said he, “what one admires is not its speed, but its good points.”

Some one asked, “What say you of the remark, ‘Requite enmity with kindness’?”

“How then,” he answered, “would you requite kindness? Requite enmity with straightforwardness, and kindness with kindness.”

“Ah! no one knows me!” he once exclaimed.

"Sir," said Tsze-kung, "how comes it to pass that no one knows you?"

"While I murmur not against Heaven," continued the Master, "nor cavil at men; while I stoop to learn and aspire to penetrate into things that are high; yet 'tis Heaven alone knows what I am."

Liau, a kinsman of the duke, having laid a complaint against Tsze-lu before Ki K'ang, an officer came to Confucius to inform him of the fact, and he added, "My lord is certainly having his mind poisoned by his kinsman Liau, but through my influence perhaps we may yet manage to see him exposed in the market-place or the Court."

"If right principles are to have their course, it is so destined," said the Master; "if they are not to have their course, it is so destined. What can Liau do against Destiny?"

"There are worthy men," said the Master, "fleeing from the world; some from their district; some from the sight of men's looks; some from the language they hear."

"The men who have risen from their posts and withdrawn in this manner are seven in number."

Tsze-lu, having lodged overnight in Shih-mun, was accosted by the gate-keeper in the morning. "Where from?" he asked. "From Confucius," Tsze-lu responded. "That is the man," said he, "who knows things are not up to the mark, and is making some ado about them, is it not?"

When the Master was in Wei, he was once pounding on the musical stone, when a man with a basket of straw crossed his threshold, and exclaimed, "Ah, there is a heart that feels! Aye, drub the stone!" After which he added, "How vulgar! how he hammers away on one note! — and no one knows him, and he gives up, and all is over!

'Be it deep, our skirts we'll raise to the waist,
— Or shallow, then up to the knee.'

"What determination!" said the Master. "Yet it was not hard to do."

Tsze-chang once said to him, "In the 'Book of the Annals' it is stated that while Kau-tsung was in the Mourning Shed he spent the three years without speaking. What is meant by that?"

"Why must you name Kau-tsung?" said the Master. "It was so with all other ancient sovereigns: when one of them died, the heads of every department agreed between themselves that they should give ear for three years to the Prime Minister."

"When their betters love the Rules, then the folk are easy tools," was a saying of the Master.

Tsze-lu having asked what made a "superior man," he answered, "Self-culture, with a view to becoming seriously minded."

"Nothing more than that?" said he.

"Self-culture with a view to the greater satisfaction of others," added the Master.

"That, and yet no more?"

"Self-culture with a view to the greater satisfaction of all the clans and classes," he again added. "Self-culture for the sake of all — a result that, that would almost put Yao and Shun into the shade!"

To Yuen Jang, who was sitting waiting for him in a squatting (disrespectful) posture, the Master delivered himself as follows: "The man who in his youth could show no humility or subordination, who in his prime misses his opportunity, and who when old age comes upon him will not die — that man is a miscreant." And he tapped him on the shin with his staff.

Some one asked about his attendant — a youth from the village of Kiueh — whether he was one who improved. He replied, "I note that he seats himself in the places reserved for his betters, and that when he is walking he keeps abreast with his seniors. He is not one of those who care for improvement: he wants to be a man all at once."

BOOK XV.—PRACTICAL WISDOM

Duke Ling of Wei was consulting Confucius about army arrangements. His answer was, "Had you asked me about such things as temple requisites, I have learnt that business, but I have not yet studied military matters." And he followed up this reply by leaving on the following day.

After this, during his residence in the State of Ch'in, his followers, owing to a stoppage of food supply, became so weak and ill that not one of them could stand. Tsze-lu, with indignation pictured on his countenance, exclaimed, "And is a gentleman to suffer starvation?"

"A gentleman," replied the Master, "will endure it unmoved, but a common person breaks out in excesses under it."

Addressing Tsze-kung, the Master said, "You regard me as one who studies and stores up in his mind a multiplicity of things — do you not?" "I do," he replied; "is it not so?" "Not at all. I have one idea — one cord on which to string all."

To Tsze-lu he remarked, "They who know Virtue are rare."

"If you would know one who without effort ruled well, was not Shun such a one? What did he indeed do? He bore himself with reverent dignity and undeviatingly 'faced the south,' and that was all."

Tsze-chang was consulting him about making way in life. He answered, "Be true and honest in all you say, and seriously earnest in all you do, and then, even if your country be one inhabited by barbarians, South or North, you will make your way. If you do not show yourself thus in word and deed how should you succeed, even in your own district or neighborhood? When you are afoot, let these two counsels be two companions preceding you, yourself viewing them from behind; when you drive, have them in view as on the yoke of your carriage. Then may you make your way."

Tsze-chang wrote them on the two ends of his cincture.

"Straight was the course of the Annalist Yu," said the

Master —“aye, straight as an arrow flies; were the country well governed or ill governed, his was an arrow-like course.

“A man of masterly mind, too, is Ku Pih-yuh! When the land is being rightly governed he will serve; when it is under bad government he is apt to recoil, and brood.”

“Not to speak to a man,” said he, “to whom you ought to speak, is to lose your man; to speak to one to whom you ought not to speak, is to lose your words. Those who are wise will not lose their man, nor yet their words.”

Again, “The scholar whose heart is in his work, and who is philanthropic, seeks not to gain a livelihood by any means that will do harm to his philanthropy. There have been men who have destroyed their own lives in the endeavor to bring that virtue in them to perfection.”

Tsze-kung asked how to become philanthropic. The Master answered him thus: “A workman who wants to do his work well must first sharpen his tools. In whatever land you live, serve under some wise and good man among those in high office, and make friends with the more humane of its men of education.”

Yen Yuen consulted him on the management of a country. He answered:

“Go by the Hsia Calendar. Have the State carriages like those of the Yin princes. Wear the Chau cap. For your music let that of Shun be used for the posturers. Put away the songs of Ch'ing, and remove far from you men of artful speech: the Ch'ing songs are inmodest, and artful talkers are dangerous.”

Other sayings of the Master:

“They who care not for the morrow will the sooner have their sorrow.

“Ah, 'tis hopeless! I have not yet met with the man who loves Virtue as he loves Beauty.

“Was not Tsang Wan like one who surreptitiously came by the post he held? He knew the worth of Hwui of Liuhia, and could not stand in his presence.

“Be generous yourself, and exact little from others; then you banish complaints.

“With one who does not come to me inquiring ‘What of this?’ and ‘What of that?’ I never can ask ‘What of this?’ and give him up.

“If a number of students are all day together, and in their conversation never approach the subject of righteousness, but are fond merely of giving currency to smart little sayings, they are difficult indeed to manage.

“When the ‘superior man’ regards righteousness as the thing material, gives operation to it according to the Rules of Propriety, lets it issue in humility, and become complete in sincerity — there indeed is your superior man!

“The trouble of the superior man will be his own want of ability: it will be no trouble to him that others do not know him.

“Such a man thinks it hard to end his days and leave a name to be no longer named.

“The superior man is exacting of himself; the common man is exacting of others.

“A superior man has self-respect, and does not strive; is sociable, yet no party man.

“He does not promote a man because of his words, nor pass over the words because of the man.”

Tsze-kung put to him the question, “Is there one word upon which the whole life may proceed?”

The Master replied, “Is not Reciprocity such a word? — what you do not yourself desire, do not put before others.”

“So far as I have to do with others, whom do I over-censure? whom do I over-praise? If there be something in them that looks very praiseworthy, that something I put to the test. I would have the men of the present day to walk in the straight path whereby those of the Three Dynasties have walked.

“I have arrived as it were at the annalist’s blank page.— Once he who had a horse would lend it to another to mount; now, alas! it is not so.

“Artful speech is the confusion of Virtue. Impatience over little things introduces confusion into great schemes.

“What is disliked by the masses needs inquiring into; so also does that which they have a preference for.

“A man may give breadth to his principles; it is not principles in themselves that give breadth to the man.

“Not to retract after committing an error may itself be called error.

“If I have passed the whole day without food and the whole night without sleep, occupied with my thoughts, it profits me nothing: I were better engaged in learning.

“The superior man deliberates upon how he may walk in truth, not upon what he may eat. The farmer may plow, and be on the way to want: the student learns, and is on his way to emolument. To live a right life is the concern of men of nobler minds: poverty gives them none.

“Whatsoever the intellect may attain to, unless the humanity within is powerful enough to keep guard over it, is assuredly lost, even though it be gained.

“If there be intellectual attainments, and the humanity within is powerful enough to keep guard over them, yet, unless (in a ruler) there be dignity in his rule, the people will fail to show him respect.

“Again, given the intellectual attainments, and humanity sufficient to keep watch over them, and also dignity in ruling, yet if his movements be not in accordance with the Rules of Propriety, he is not yet fully qualified.

“The superior man may not be conversant with petty details, and yet may have important matters put into his hands. The inferior man may not be charged with important matters, yet may be conversant with the petty details.

“Good-fellowship is more to men than fire and water. I have seen men stepping into fire and into water, and meeting with death thereby; I have not yet seen a man die from planting his steps in the path of good-fellowship.

“Rely upon good nature. 'Twill not allow precedence even to a teacher.

“The superior man is inflexibly upright, and takes not things upon trust.

“ In serving your prince, make your service the serious concern, and let salary be a secondary matter.

“ Where instruction is to be given, there must be no distinction of persons.

“ Where men’s methods are not identical, there can be no planning by one on behalf of another.

“ In speaking, perspicuity is all that is needed.”

When the blind music-master Mien paid him a visit, on his approaching the steps the Master called out “ Steps,” and on his coming to the mat, said “ Mat.” When all in the room were seated, the Master told him “ So-and-so is here, so-and-so is here.”

When the music-master had left, Tsze-chang said to him, “ Is that the way to speak to the music-master ? ” “ Well,” he replied, “ it is certainly the way to assist him.”

BOOK XVI.—AGAINST INTESTINE STRIFE

The Chief of the Ki family was about to make an onslaught upon the Chuen-yu domain.

Yen Yu and Tsze-lu in an interview with Confucius told him, “ The Ki is about to have an affair with Chuen-yu.”

“ Yen,” said Confucius, “ does not the fault lie with you ? The Chief of Chuen-yu in times past was appointed lord of the East Mung mountain ; besides, he dwells within the confines of your own State, and is an official of the State-worship ; how can you think of making an onslaught upon him ? ”

“ It is the wish of our Chief,” said Yen Yu, “ not the wish of either of us ministers.”

Confucius said, “ Yen, there is a sentence of Chau Jin which runs thus : ‘ Having made manifest their powers and taken their place in the official list, when they find themselves incompetent they resign ; if they can not be firm when danger threatens the government, nor lend support when it is reeling, of what use then shall they be as Assistants ? ’ Besides, you are wrong in what you said. When a rhinoceros or tiger breaks out of its cage — when a jewel or tortoise-shell ornament is damaged in its casket — whose fault is it ? ”

“But,” said Yen Yu, “so far as Chuen-yu is concerned, it is now fortified, and it is close to Pi; and if he does not now take it, in another generation it will certainly be a trouble to his descendants.”

“Yen!” exclaimed Confucius, “it is a painful thing to a superior man to have to desist from saying, ‘My wish is so-and-so,’ and to be obliged to make apologies. For my part, I have learnt this — that rulers of States and heads of Houses are not greatly concerned about their small following, but about the want of equilibrium in it — that they do not concern themselves about their becoming poor, but about the best means of living quietly and contentedly; for where equilibrium is preserved there will be no poverty, where there is harmony their following will not be small, and where there is quiet contentment there will be no decline nor fall. Now if that be the case, it follows that if men in outlying districts are not submissive, then a reform in education and morals will bring them to; and when they have been so won, then will you render them quiet and contented. At the present time you two are Assistants of your Chief; the people in the outlying districts are not submissive, and can not be brought round. Your dominion is divided, prostrate, dispersed, cleft in pieces, and you as its guardians are powerless. And plans are being made for taking up arms against those who dwell within your own State. I am apprehensive that the sorrow of the Ki family is not to lie in Chuen-yu, but in those within their own screen.”

“When the empire is well-ordered,” said Confucius, “it is from the emperor that edicts regarding ceremonial, music, and expeditions to quell rebellion go forth. When it is being ill governed, such edicts emanate from the feudal lords; and when the latter is the case, it will be strange if in ten generations there is not a collapse. If they emanate merely from the high officials, it will be strange if the collapse do not come in five generations. When the State-edicts are in the hands of the subsidiary ministers, it will be strange if in three generations there is no collapse.

“When the empire is well-ordered, government is not left in the hands of high officials.

“When the empire is well-ordered, the common people will cease to discuss public matters.”

“For five generations,” he said, “the revenue has departed from the ducal household. Four generations ago the government fell into the hands of the high officials. Hence, alas! the straitened means of the descendants of the three Hwan families.”

“There are,” said he, “three kinds of friendships which are profitable, and three which are detrimental. To make friends with the upright, with the trustworthy, with the experienced, is to gain benefit; to make friends with the subtly perverse, with the artfully pliant, with the subtle in speech, is detrimental.”

Again, “There are three kinds of pleasure which are profitable, and three which are detrimental. To take pleasure in going regularly through the various branches of Ceremonial and Music, in speaking of others’ goodness, in having many worthy wise friends, is profitable. To take pleasure in wild bold pleasures, in idling carelessly about, in the too jovial accompaniments of feasting, is detrimental.”

Again, “Three errors there be, into which they who wait upon their superior may fall: (1) to speak before the opportunity comes to them to speak, which I call heedless haste; (2) refraining from speaking when the opportunity has come, which I call concealment; and (3) speaking, regardless of the mood he is in, which I call blindness.”

Again, “Three things a superior should guard against: (1) against the lusts of the flesh in his earlier years while the vital powers are not fully developed and fixed; (2) against the spirit of combativeness when he has come to the age of robust manhood and when the vital powers are matured and strong, and (3) against ambitiousness when old age has come on and the vital powers have become weak and decayed.

“Three things also such a man greatly reveres: (1) the ordinances of Heaven, (2) great men, (3) words of sages.

The inferior man knows not the ordinances of Heaven and therefore reveres them not, is unduly familiar in the presence of great men, and scoffs at the words of sages.

"They whose knowledge comes by birth are of all men the first in understanding; they to whom it comes by study are next; men of poor intellectual capacity, who yet study, may be added as a yet inferior class; and lowest of all are they who are poor in intellect and never learn.

"Nine things there are of which the superior man should be mindful: to be clear in vision, quick in hearing, genial in expression, respectful in demeanor, true in word, serious in duty, inquiring in doubt, firmly self-controlled in anger, just and fair when the way to success opens out before him.

"Some have spoken of 'looking upon goodness as upon something beyond their reach,' and of 'looking upon evil as like plunging one's hands into scalding liquid'; I have seen the men, I have heard the sayings.

"Some, again, have talked of 'living in seclusion to work out their designs,' and of 'exercising themselves in righteous living in order to render their principles the more effective'; I have heard the sayings, I have not seen the men.

"Duke King of Ts'i had his thousand teams of four, yet on the day of his death the people had nothing to say of his goodness. Peh-I and Shuh-Ts'i starved at the foot of Shauyang, and the people make mention of them to this day.

'E'en if not wealth thine object be,
'Tis all the same, thou'rt changed to me.'

"Is not this apropos in such cases?"

Tsze-k'in asked of Pih-yu, "Have you heard anything else peculiar from your father?"

"Not yet," said he. "Once, though, he was standing alone when I was hurrying past him over the vestibule, and he said, 'Are you studying the Odes?' 'Not yet,' I replied. 'If you do not learn the Odes,' said he, 'you will not have the wherewithal for conversing.' I turned away and studied the Odes. Another day, when he was again standing alone and I was hurrying past across the vestibule, he said to me,

‘Are you learning the Rules of Propriety?’ ‘Not yet,’ I replied. ‘If you have not studied the Rules, you have nothing to stand upon,’ said he. I turned away and studied the Rules.—These two things I have heard from him.”

Tsze-k'in turned away, and in great glee exclaimed, “I asked one thing and have got three. I have learnt something about the Odes, and about the Rules, and moreover I have learnt how the superior man will turn away his own son.”

The wife of the ruler of a State is called by her husband “My helpmeet.” She speaks of herself as “Your little hand-maiden.” The people of that State call her “The prince’s helpmeet,” but addressing persons of another State they speak of her as “Our little princess.” When persons of another State name her they say also, “Your prince’s helpmeet.”

BOOK XVII.—NATURE AND HABIT

Yang Ho was desirous of having an interview with Confucius, but on the latter’s failing to go and see him, he sent a present of a pig to his house. Confucius went to return his acknowledgments for it at a time when he was not at home. They met, however, on the way.

He said to Confucius, “Come, I want a word with you. Can that man be said to have good-will toward his fellow-men who hugs and hides his own precious gifts and allows his country to go on in blind error?”

“He can not,” was the reply.

“And can he be said to be wise who, with a liking for taking part in the public service, is constantly letting slip his opportunities?”

“He can not,” was the reply again.

“And the days and months are passing; and the years do not wait for us.”

“True,” said Confucius; “I will take office.”

It was a remark of the Master that while “by nature we approximate toward each other, by experience we go far asunder.”

Again, "Only the supremely wise and the most deeply ignorant do not alter."

The Master once, on his arrival at Wu-shing, heard the sound of stringed instruments and singing. His face beamed with pleasure, and he said laughingly, "To kill a cock — why use an ox-knife?"

Tsze-yu, the governor, replied, "In former days, sir, I heard you say, 'Let the superior man learn right principles, and he will be loving to other men; let the ordinary person learn right principles, and he will be easily managed.'"

The Master turning to his disciples said, "Sirs, what he says is right: what I said just now was only in play."

Having received an invitation from Kung-shan Fuh-jau, who was in revolt against the government and was holding to his district of Pi, the Master showed an inclination to go.

Tsze-lu was averse to this, and said, "You can never go, that is certain; how should you feel you must go to that person?"

"Well," said the Master, "he who has invited me must surely not have done so without a sufficient reason! And if it should happen that my services were enlisted, I might create for him another East Chau — don't you think so?"

Tsze-chang asked Confucius about the virtue of philanthropy. His answer was, "It is the being able to put in practise five qualities, in any place under the sun."

"May I ask, please, what these are?" said the disciple.

"They are," he said, "dignity, indulgence, faithfulness, earnestness, kindness. If you show dignity you will not be mocked; if you are indulgent you will win the multitude; if faithful, men will place their trust in you; if earnest, you will do something meritorious; and if kind, you will be enabled to avail yourself amply of men's services."

Pih Hih sent the Master an invitation, and he showed an inclination to go.

Tsze-lu, seeing this, said to him, "In former days, sir, I have heard you say, 'A superior man will not enter the society of one who does not that which is good in matters concerning himself'; and this man is in revolt, with Chung-mau

in his possession: if you go to him, how will the case stand?"

"Yes," said the Master, "those are indeed my words; but is it not said, 'What is hard may be rubbed without being made thin,' and 'White may be stained without being made black'? — I am surely not a gourd! How am I to be strung up like that kind of thing — and live without means?"

"Tsze-lu," said the Master, "you have heard of the six words with their six obfuscations?"

"No," said he, "not so far."

"Sit down, and I will tell you them. They are these six virtues, cared for without care for any study about them: philanthropy, wisdom, faithfulness, straightforwardness, courage, firmness. And the six obfuscations resulting from not liking to learn about them are, respectively, these: fatuity, mental dissipation, mischievousness, perversity, insubordination, impetuosity."

"My children," said he once, "why does no one of you study the Odes? They are adapted to rouse the mind, to assist observation, to make people sociable, to arouse virtuous indignation. They speak of duties near and far — the duty of ministering to a parent, the duty of serving one's prince; and it is from them that one becomes conversant with the names of many birds, and beasts, and plants, and trees."

To his son Pih-yu he said, "Study you the Odes of Chau and the South, and those of Shao. The man who studies not these is, I should say, somewhat in the position of one who stands facing a wall!"

"'Etiquette demands it.' 'Etiquette demands it,' so people plead," said he; "but do not these hankerings after jewels and silks indeed demand it? Or it is, 'The study of Music requires it' — 'Music requires it'; but do not these predilections for bells and drums require it?"

Again, "They who assume an outward appearance of severity, being inwardly weak, may be likened to low common men; nay, are they not somewhat like thieves that break through walls and steal?"

Again, "The plebeian kind of respect for piety is the very pest of virtue."

Again, "Listening on the road, and repeating in the lane — this is abandonment of virtue."

"Ah, the low-minded creatures!" he exclaimed. "How is it possible indeed to serve one's prince in their company? Before they have got what they wanted they are all anxiety to get it, and after they have got it they are all anxiety lest they should lose it; and while they are thus full of concern lest they should lose it, there is no length to which they will not go."

Again, "In olden times people had three moral infirmities; which, it may be, are now unknown. Ambitiousness in those olden days showed itself in momentary outburst; the ambitiousness of to-day runs riot. Austerity in those days had its sharp angles; in these it is irritable and perverse. Feebleness of intellect then was at least straightforward; in our day it is never aught but deceitful."

Again, "Rarely do we find mutual good feeling where there is fine speech and studied mien."

Again, "To me it is abhorrent that purple color should be made to detract from that of vermilion. Also that the Odes of Ch'ing should be allowed to introduce discord in connection with the music of the Festal Songs and Hymns. Also that sharp-whetted tongues should be permitted to subvert governments."

Once said he, "Would that I could dispense with speech!"

"Sir," said Tsze-kung, "if you were never to speak, what should your pupils have to hand down from you?"

"Does Heaven ever speak?" said the Master. "The four seasons come and go, and all creatures live and grow. Does Heaven indeed speak?"

Once Ju Pi desired an interview with Confucius, from which the latter excused himself on the score of ill-health; but while the attendant was passing out through the doorway with the message he took his lute and sang, in such a way as to let him hear him.

Tsai Wo questioned him respecting the three years' mourning, saying that one full twelvemonth was a long time — that, if gentlemen were for three years to cease from observ-

ing rules of propriety, propriety must certainly suffer, and that if for three years they neglected music, music must certainly die out — and that seeing nature has taught us that when the old year's grain is finishing the new has sprung up for us — seeing also that all the changes in procuring fire by friction have been gone through in the four seasons — surely a twelvemonth might suffice.

The Master asked him, "Would it be a satisfaction to you — that returning to better food, that putting on of fine clothes?"

"It would," said he.

"Then if you can be satisfied in so doing, do so. But to a gentleman, who is in mourning for a parent, the choicest food will not be palatable, nor will the listening to music be pleasant, nor will comforts of home make him happy in mind. Hence he does not do as you suggest. But if you are now happy in your mind, then do so."

Tsai Wo went out. And the Master went on to say, "It is want of human feeling in this man. After a child has lived three years it then breaks away from the tender nursing of its parents. And this three years' mourning is the customary mourning prevalent all over the empire. Can this man have enjoyed the three years of loving care from his parents?"

"Ah, it is difficult," said he, "to know what to make of those who are all day long cramming themselves with food and are without anything to apply their minds to! Are there no dice and chess players? Better, perhaps, join in that pursuit than do nothing at all!"

"Does a gentleman," asked Tsze-lu, "make much account of bravery?"

"Righteousness he counts higher," said the Master. "A gentleman who is brave without being just may become turbulent; while a common person who is brave and not just may end in becoming a highwayman."

Tsze-kung asked, "I suppose a gentleman will have his aversions as well as his likings?"

"Yes," replied the Master, "he will dislike those who

talk much about other people's ill-deeds. He will dislike those who, when occupying inferior places, utter defamatory words against their superiors. He will dislike those who, though they may be brave, have no regard for propriety. And he will dislike those hastily decisive and venturesome spirits who are nevertheless so hampered by limited intellect."

"And you, too, Tsze-kung," he continued, "have your aversions, have you not?"

"I dislike," said he, "those plagiarists who wish to pass for wise persons. I dislike those people who wish their lack of humility to be taken for bravery. I dislike also those divulgers of secrets who think to be accounted straightforward."

"Of all others," said the Master, "women-servants and men-servants are the most difficult people to have the care of. Approach them in a familiar manner, and they take liberties; keep them at a distance, and they grumble."

Again, "When a man meets with odium at forty, he will do so to the end."

BOOK XVIII.—IN SECLUSION

"In the reign of the last king of the Yin Dynasty," Confucius said, "there were three men of philanthropic spirit: the viscount of Wei, who withdrew from him; the viscount of Ki, who became his bondsman; and Pi-kan, who reproved him and suffered death."

Hwui of Liu-hia, who filled the office of Chief Criminal Judge, was thrice dismissed. A person remarked to him, "Can you not yet bear to withdraw?" He replied, "If I act in a straightforward way in serving men, whither in these days should I go, where I should not be thrice dismissed? Were I to adopt crooked ways in their service, why need I leave the land where my parents dwell?"

Duke King of Ts'i remarked respecting his attitude toward Confucius, "If he is to be treated like the Chief of the Ki family, I can not do it. I should treat him as somewhere

between the Ki and Mang Chiefs. I am old," he added, "and not competent to avail myself of him."

Confucius, hearing of this, went away.

The Ts'i officials presented to the Court of Lu a number of female musicians. Ki Hwan accepted them, and for three days no Court was held.

Confucius went away.

Tsieh-yu, the madman ²⁴ of Ts'u, was once passing Confucius, singing as he went along. He sang —

"Ha the phœnix! Ha the phœnix!
How is Virtue lying prone!
Vain to chide for what is o'er,
Plan to meet what's yet in store.
Let alone! Let alone!
Risky now to serve a throne."

Confucius alighted, wishing to enter into conversation with him; but the man hurried along and left him, and he was therefore unable to get a word with him.

Ch'ang-tsu and Kieh-nih ²⁵ were working together on some plowed land. Confucius was passing by them, and sent Tsze-lu to ask where the ford was.

Ch'ang-tsu said, "Who is the person driving the carriage?"

"Confucius," answered Tsze-lu.

"He of Lu?" he asked.

"The same," said Tsze-lu.

"He knows then where the ford is," said he.

Tsze-lu then put his question to Kieh-nih; and the latter asked, "Who are you?"

Tsze-lu gave his name.

"You are a follower of Confucius of Lu, are you not?"

"You are right," he answered.

"Ah, as these waters rise and overflow their bounds," said he, "'tis so with all throughout the empire; and who is he that can alter the state of things? And you are a follower

²⁴ He only pretended to be mad, in order to escape being employed in the public service.

²⁵ Two worthies who had abandoned public life, owing to the state of the times.

of a learned man who withdraws from his chief; had you not better be a follower of such as have forsaken the world?" And he went on with his harrowing, without stopping.

Tsze-lu went and informed his Master of all this. He was deeply touched, and said, "One can not herd on equal terms with beasts and birds: if I am not to live among these human folk, then with whom else should I live? Only when the empire is well ordered shall I cease to take part in the work of reformation."

Tsze-lu was following the Master, but had dropped behind on the way, when he encountered an old man with a weed-basket slung on a staff over his shoulder. Tsze-lu inquired of him, "Have you seen my Master, sir?" Said the old man, "Who is your master? — you who never employ your four limbs in laborious work; you who do not know one from another of the five sorts of grain!" And he stuck his staff in the ground, and began his weeding.

Tsze-lu brought his hands together on his breast and stood still.

The old man kept Tsze-lu and lodged him for the night, killed a fowl and prepared some millet, entertained him, and brought his two sons out to see him.

On the morrow Tsze-lu went on his way, and told all this to the Master, who said, "He is a recluse," and sent Tsze-lu back to see him again. But by the time he got there he was gone.

Tsze-lu remarked upon this, "It is not right he should evade official duties. If he can not allow any neglect of the terms on which elders and juniors should live together, how is it that he neglects to conform to what is proper as between prince and public servant? He wishes for himself personally a pure life, yet creates disorder in that more important relationship. When a gentleman undertakes public work, he will carry out the duties proper to it; and he knows beforehand that right principles may not win their way."

Among those who have retired from public life have been

Peh-I and Shuh-Ts'i, Yu-chung, I-yih, Chu-chang, Hwui of Liu-hia, and Shao-lien.

"Of these," said the Master, "Peh-I and Shuh-Ts'i may be characterized, I should say, as men who never declined from their high resolve nor soiled themselves by aught of disgrace.

"Of Hwui of Liu-hia and Shao-lien, if one may say that they did decline from high resolve, and that they did bring disgrace upon themselves, yet their words were consonant with established principles, and their action consonant with men's thoughts and wishes; and this is all that may be said of them.

"Of Yu-chang and I-yih, if it be said that when they retired into privacy they let loose their tongues, yet in their aim at personal purity of life they succeeded, and their defection was also successful in its influence.

"My own rule is different from any adopted by these: I will take no liberties, I will have no curtailing of my liberty."

The chief music-master went off to Ts'i. Kan, the conductor of the music at the second repast, went over to Ts'u. Liau, conductor at the third repast, went over to Ts'ai. And Kiueh, who conducted at the fourth, went to Ts'in.

Fang-shuh, the drummer, withdrew into the neighborhood of the Ho. Wu the tambourer went to the Han. And Yang the junior music-master, and Siang who played on the musical stone, went to the sea-coast.

Anciently the Duke of Chau, addressing his son the Duke of Lu, said, "A good man in high place is not indifferent about the members of his own family, and does not give occasion to the chief ministers to complain that they are not employed; nor without great cause will he set aside old friendships; nor does he seek for full equipment for every kind of service in any single man."

There were once eight officials during this Chau Dynasty, who were four pairs of twins, all brothers — the eldest pair Tah and Kwoh, the next Tuh and Hwuh, the third Ye and Hia, the youngest Sui and Kwa.

BOOK XIX.—TEACHINGS OF VARIOUS DISCIPLES

“The learned official,” said Tsze-chang, “who when he sees danger ahead will risk his very life, who when he sees a chance of success is mindful of what is just and proper, who in his religious acts is mindful of the duty of reverence, and when in mourning thinks of his loss, is indeed a fit and proper person for his place.”

Again he said, “If a person hold to virtue but never advance in it, and if he have faith in right principles and do not build himself up in them, how can he be regarded either as having such, or as being without them?”

Tsze-hia’s disciples asked Tsze-chang his views about intercourse with others. “What says your Master?” he rejoined. “He says,” they replied, “‘Associate with those who are qualified, and repel from you such as are not.’” Tsze-chang then said, “That is different from what I have learnt. A superior man esteems the worthy and wise, and bears them all. He makes much of the good and capable, and pities the incapable. Am I eminently worthy and wise? — who is there then among men whom I will not bear with? Am I not worthy and wise? — others will be minded to repel me: I have nothing to do with repelling them.”

Sayings of Tsze-hia:

“Even in inferior pursuits there must be something worthy of contemplation, but if carried to an extreme there is danger of fanaticism; hence the superior man does not engage in them.

“The student who daily recognizes how much he yet lacks, and as the months pass forgets not what he has succeeded in learning, may undoubtedly be called a lover of learning.

“Wide research and steadfast purpose, eager questioning and close reflection — all this tends to humanize a man.

“As workmen spend their time in their workshops for the perfecting of their work, so superior men apply their minds to study in order to make themselves thoroughly conversant with their subjects.

“When an inferior man does a wrong thing, he is sure to gloss it over.

“The superior man is seen in three different aspects: look at him from a distance, he is imposing in appearance; approach him, he is gentle and warm-hearted; hear him speak, he is acute and strict.

“Let such a man have the people’s confidence, and he will get much work out of them; so long, however, as he does not possess their confidence they will regard him as grinding them down.

“When confidence is reposed in him, he may then with impunity administer reproof; so long as it is not, he will be regarded as a detractor.

“Where there is no over-stepping of barriers in the practise of the higher virtues, there may be freedom to pass in and out in the practise of the lower ones.”

Tsze-yu had said, “The pupils in the school of Tsze-hia are good enough at such things as sprinkling and scrubbing floors, answering calls and replying to questions from superiors, and advancing and retiring to and from such; but these things are only offshoots — as to the root of things they are nowhere. What is the use of all that?”

When this came to the ears of Tsze-hia, he said, “Ah! there he is mistaken. What does a master, in his methods of teaching, consider first in his precepts? And what does he account next, as that about which he may be indifferent? It is like as in the study of plants — classification by *differentia*. How may a master play fast and loose in his methods of instruction? Would they not indeed be sages, who could take in at once the first principles and the final developments of things?”

Further observations of Tsze-hia:

“In the public service devote what energy and time remain to study. After study devote what energy and time remain to the public service.

“As to the duties of mourning, let them cease when the grief is past.

“My friend Tsze-chang, although he has the ability to tackle hard things, has not yet the virtue of philanthropy.”

The learned Tsang observed, “How loftily Tsze-chang bears himself! Difficult indeed along with him to practise philanthropy!”

Again he said, “I have heard this said by the Master, that ‘though men may not exert themselves to the utmost in other duties, yet surely in the duty of mourning for their parents they will do so!’”

Again, “This also I have heard said by the Master: ‘The filial piety of Mang Chwang in other respects might be equaled, but as manifested in his making no changes among his father’s ministers, nor in his father’s mode of government — that aspect of it could not easily be equaled.’”

Yang Fu, having been made senior Criminal Judge by the Chief of the Mang clan, consulted with the learned Tsang. The latter advised him as follows: “For a long time the Chiefs have failed in their government, and the people have become unsettled. When you arrive at the facts of their cases, do not rejoice at your success in that, but rather be sorry for them, and have pity upon them.”

Tsze-kung once observed, “We speak of ‘the iniquity of Chau,’— but ’twas not so great as this. And so it is that the superior man is averse from settling in this sink, into which everything runs that is foul in the empire.”

Again he said, “Faults in a superior man are like eclipses of the sun or moon: when he is guilty of a trespass men all see it; and when he is himself again, all look up to him.”

Kung-sun Ch’au of Wei inquired of Tsze-kung how Confucius acquired his learning.

Tsze-kung replied, “The teachings of Wan and Wu have not yet fallen to the ground. They exist in men. Worthy and wise men have the more important of these stored up in their minds; and others, who are not such, store up the less important of them; and as no one is thus without the teachings of Wan and Wu, how should our Master not have learned? And moreover what permanent preceptor could he have?”

THE ANCIENT PAGODA OF SOO-CHOW.

*This is a religious temple sixteen hundred years old, or older,
devoted to Confucianism.*



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Shuh-sun Wu-shuh, addressing the high officials at the Court, remarked that Tsze-kung was a greater worthy than Confucius.

Tsze-fuh King-pih went and informed Tsze-kung of this remark.

Tsze-kung said, "Take by way of comparison the walls outside our houses. My wall is shoulder-high, and you may look over it and see what the house and its contents are worth. My Master's wall is tens of feet high, and unless you should effect an entrance by the door, you would fail to behold the beauty of the ancestral hall and the rich array of all its officers. And they who effect an entrance by the door, methinks, are few! Was it not, however, just like him — that remark of the Chief?"

Shuh-sun Wu-shuh had been casting a slur on the character of Confucius.

"No use doing that," said Tsze-kung; "he is irreproachable. The wisdom and worth of other men are little hills and mounds of earth: traversible. He is the sun, or the moon, impossible to reach and pass. And what harm, I ask, can a man do to the sun or the moon, by wishing to intercept himself from either? It all shows that he knows not how to gauge capacity."

Tsze-k'in, addressing Tsze-kung, said, "You depreciate yourself. Confucius is surely not a greater worthy than yourself."

Tsze-kung replied, "In the use of words one ought never to be incautious; because a gentleman for one single utterance of his is apt to be considered a wise man, and for a single utterance may be accounted unwise. No more might one think of attaining to the Master's perfections than think of going upstairs to Heaven! Were it ever his fortune to be at the head of the government of a country, then that which is spoken of as 'establishing the country' would be establishment indeed; he would be its guide and it would follow him, he would tranquillize it and it would render its willing homage: he would give forward impulses to it to which it would harmoniously respond. In his life he would

be its glory; at his death there would be great lamentation. How indeed could such as he be equaled?"

BOOK XX.—THE BOOK OF HISTORY

The Emperor Yao said to Shun, "Ah, upon you, upon your person, lies the Heaven-appointed order of succession! Faithfully hold to it, without any deflection; for if within the four seas necessity and want befall the people, your own revenue will forever come to an end."

Shun also used the same language in handing down the appointment to Yu.

The Emperor Thang in his prayer, said, "I, the child Li, presume to avail me of an ox of dusky hue, and presume to manifestly announce to thee, O God, the most high and Sovereign Potentate, that to the transgressor I dare not grant forgiveness, nor yet keep in abeyance thy ministers. Judgment rests in thine heart, O God. Should we ourself transgress, may the guilt not be visited everywhere upon all. Should the people all transgress, be the guilt upon ourself!"

Chau possessed great gifts, by which the able and good were richly endowed.

"Although," said King Wu, "he is surrounded by his near relatives, they are not to be compared with men of humane spirit. The people are suffering wrongs, and the remedy rests with me — the one man."

After Wu had given diligent attention to the various weights and measures, examined the laws and regulations, and restored the degraded officials, good government everywhere ensued.

He caused ruined States to flourish again, reinstated intercepted heirs, and promoted to office men who had gone into retirement; and the hearts of the people throughout the empire drew toward him.

Among matters of prime consideration with him were these: food for the people, the duty of mourning, and sacrificial offerings to the departed.

He was liberal and large-hearted, and so won all hearts;

true, and so was trusted by the people; energetic, and thus became a man of great achievements; just in his rule, and all were well content.

Tsze-chang in a conversation with Confucius asked, "What say you is essential for the proper conduct of government?"

The Master replied, "Let the ruler hold in high estimation the five excellences, and eschew the four evils; then may he conduct his government properly."

"And what call you the five excellences?" he was asked.

"They are," he said, "bounty without extravagance; burdening without exciting discontent; desire without covetousness; dignity without haughtiness; show of majesty without fierceness."

"What mean you," asked Tsze-chang, "by bounty without extravagance?"

"Is it not this," he replied — "to make that which is of benefit to the people still more beneficial? When he selects for them such labors as it is possible for them to do, and exacts them, who will then complain? So when his desire is the virtue of humaneness, and he attains it, how shall he then be covetous? And if — whether he have to do with few or many, with small or with great — he do not venture ever to be careless, is not this also to have dignity without haughtiness? And if — when properly vested in robe and cap, and showing dignity in his every look — his appearance be so imposing that the people look up to and stand in awe of him, is not this moreover to show majesty without fierceness?"

"What, then, do you call the four evils?" said Tsze-chang.

The answer here was, "Omitting to instruct the people and then inflicting capital punishment on them — which means cruel tyranny. Omitting to give them warning and yet looking for perfection in them — which means oppression. Being slow and late in issuing requisitions, and exacting strict punctuality in the returns — which means robbery. And likewise, in intercourse with men, to expend

and to receive in a stingy manner — which is to act the part of a mere commissioner.”

“None can be a superior man,” said the Master, “who does not recognize the decrees of Heaven.

“None can have stability in him without knowledge of the proprieties.

“None can know a man without knowing his utterances.”

END OF THE ANALECTS

THE GREAT LEARNING

The celebrated Chinese philosopher Ch'ing, says: "The Great Learning is a book left by Confucius, and forms the gate by which first learners enter into virtue. That we can now perceive the order in which the ancients pursued their learning is solely owing to the preservation of this work, the Analects and Mencius coming after it. Learners must commence their course with this, and then it may be hoped they will be kept from error."

THE GREAT LEARNING

THE TEXT OF CONFUCIUS ¹

1. What the Great Learning teaches is — to illustrate illustrious virtue; to renovate the people; and to rest in the highest excellence.

2. The point where to rest being known, the object of pursuit is then determined; and, that being determined, a calm unperturbedness may be attained. To that calmness there will succeed a tranquil repose. In that repose there may be careful deliberation, and that deliberation will be followed by the attainment of the desired end.

3. Things have their root and their completion. Affairs have their end and their beginning. To know what is first and what is last will lead near to what is taught in the Great Learning.

4. The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the empire first ordered well their own States. Wishing to order well their States, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things.

5. Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families

¹ This chapter of classical text is in the words of Confucius, handed down by the philosopher Tsang. The ten chapters of explanation which follow contain the views of Tsang, and were recorded by his disciples. In the old copies of the work there appeared considerable confusion in these, from the disarrangement of the tablets.

were regulated. Their families being regulated, their States were rightly governed. Their States being rightly governed, the whole empire was made tranquil and happy.

6. From the emperor down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of every thing besides.

7. It can not be, when the root is neglected, that what should spring from it will be well ordered. It never has been the case that what was of great importance has been slightly cared for, and, at the same time, that what was of slight importance has been greatly cared for.

COMMENTARY OF THE PHILOSOPHER TSANG

CHAPTER I.² 1. In the Announcement to K'ang it is said, "He was able to make his virtue illustrious."

2. In the Thae Kea, it is said, "He contemplated and studied the illustrious decrees of heaven."

3. In the Canon of the Emperor Yao, it is said, "He was able to make illustrious his lofty virtue."

4. These passages all show how those sovereigns made themselves illustrious.

II.³ 1. On the bathing-tub of Thang, the following words were engraved: "If you can one day renovate yourself, do so from day to day. Yea, let there be daily renovation."

2. In the Announcement to K'ang, it is said, "To stir up the new people."

3. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Although Chau was an ancient State, the ordinance which lighted on it was new."

4. Therefore, the superior man in everything uses his utmost endeavors.

III.⁴ 1. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "The im-

²This first chapter of commentary explains the illustration of illustrious virtue.

³The second chapter of commentary explains the renovating of the people.

⁴The third chapter of commentary explains resting in the highest excellence.

perial domain of a thousand li is where the people rest.”

2. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “The twittering yellow bird rests on a corner of the mound.” The Master said, “When it rests, it knows where to rest. Is it possible that a man should not be equal to this bird?”

3. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “Profound was King Wan. With how bright and unceasing a feeling of reverence did he regard his resting-places!” As a sovereign, he rested in benevolence. As a minister, he rested in reverence. As a son, he rested in filial piety. As a father, he rested in kindness. In communication with his subjects, he rested in good faith.

4. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “Look at that winding course of the K'e, with the green bamboos so luxuriant! Here is our elegant and accomplished prince! As we cut and then file; as we chisel and then grind; so has he cultivated himself. How grave is he and dignified! How majestic and distinguished! Our elegant and accomplished prince never can be forgotten.” That expression — “as we cut and then file” — indicates the work of learning. “As we chisel, and then grind,” indicates that of self-culture. “How grave is he and dignified!” indicates the feeling of cautious reverence. “How commanding and distinguished,” indicates an awe-inspiring deportment. “Our elegant and accomplished prince never can be forgotten,” indicates how, when virtue is complete and excellence extreme, the people can not forget them.

5. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “Ah! the former kings are not forgotten.” Future princes deem worthy what they deemed worthy, and love what they loved. The common people delight in what they delighted, and are benefited by their beneficial arrangements. It is on this account that the former kings, after they have quitted the world, are not forgotten.

IV.⁵ The Master said, “In hearing litigations, I am like any other body. What is necessary is to cause the people to have no litigations.” So, those who are devoid of prin-

⁵ The fourth chapter of commentary explains the root and the issue.

ciple find it impossible to carry out their speeches, and a great awe would be struck into men's minds; this is called knowing the root.

V.⁶ 1. This is called knowing the root.

2. This is called the perfecting of knowledge.

VI.⁷ 1. What is meant by "making the thoughts sincere," is the allowing no self-deception, as when we hate a bad smell, and as when we love what is beautiful. This is called self-enjoyment. Therefore, the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone.

2. There is no evil to which the mean man, dwelling retired, will not proceed, but when he sees a superior man he instantly tries to disguise himself, concealing his evil, and displaying what is good. The other beholds him, as if he saw his heart and reins: of what use is his disguise? This is an instance of the saying—"What truly is within will be manifested without." Therefore, the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone.

3. The disciple Tsang said, "What ten eyes behold, what ten hands point to, is to be regarded with reverence!"

4. Riches adorn a house, and virtue adorns the person.

⁶The fifth chapter of the commentary explained the meaning of "investigating things and carrying knowledge to the utmost extent," but it is now lost. We have ventured to take the views of the scholar Ch'ing to supply it, as follows: The meaning of the expression, "The perfecting of knowledge depends on the investigation of things," is this: If we wish to carry our knowledge to the utmost, we must investigate the principles of all things we come into contact with, for the intelligent mind of man is certainly formed to know, and there is not a single thing in which its principles do not inhere. But so long as all principles are not investigated, man's knowledge is incomplete. On this account, the Learning for Adults, at the outset of its lessons, instructs the learner, in regard to all things in the world, to proceed from what knowledge he has of their principles, and pursue his investigation of them, till he reaches the extreme point. After exerting himself in this way for a long time, he will suddenly find himself possessed of a wide and far-reaching penetration. Then, the qualities of all things, whether external or internal, the subtle or the coarse, will all be apprehended, and the mind, in its entire substance and its relations to things, will be perfectly intelligent. This is called the investigation of things. This is called the perfection of knowledge.

⁷The sixth chapter of commentary explains making the thoughts sincere.

The mind is expanded, and the body is at ease. Therefore, the superior man must make his thoughts sincere.

VII.⁸ 1. What is meant by "The cultivation of the person depends on rectifying the mind," may be thus illustrated: If a man be under the influence of passion, he will be incorrect in his conduct. He will be the same if he is under the influence of terror, or under the influence of fond regard, or under that of sorrow and distress.

2. When the mind is not present, we look and do not see; we hear and do not understand; we eat and do not know the taste of what we eat.

3. This is what is meant by saying that the cultivation of the person depends on the rectifying of the mind.

VIII.⁹ 1. What is meant by "The regulation of one's family depends on the cultivation of his person," is this: Men are partial where they feel affection and love; partial where they despise and dislike; partial where they stand in awe and reverence; partial where they feel sorrow and compassion; partial where they are arrogant and rude. Thus it is that there are few men in the world, who love, and at the same time know the bad qualities of the object of their love, or who hate, and yet know the excellences of the object of their hatred.

2. Hence it is said, in the common adage, "A man does not know the wickedness of his son; he does not know the richness of his growing corn."

3. This is what is meant by saying that if the person be not cultivated, a man can not regulate his family.

IX.¹⁰ 1. What is meant by "In order rightly to govern his State, it is necessary first to regulate his family," is this: It is not possible for one to teach others, while he can not teach his own family. Therefore, the ruler, without going beyond his family, completes the lessons for the State.

⁸ The seventh chapter of commentary explains rectifying the mind and cultivating the person.

⁹ The eighth chapter of commentary explains the cultivating the person and regulating the family.

¹⁰ The ninth chapter of commentary explains regulating the family and governing the kingdom.

There is filial piety: therewith the sovereign should be served. There is fraternal submission: therewith elders and superiors should be served. There is kindness: therewith the multitude should be treated.

2. In the Announcement to K'ang, it is said, "Act as if you were watching over an infant." If a mother is really anxious about it, though she may not hit exactly the wants of her infant, she will not be far from doing so. There never has been a girl who learned to bring up a child, that she might afterward marry.

3. From the loving example of one family a whole State becomes loving, and from its courtesies the whole State becomes courteous, while, from the ambition and perverseness of the One man, the whole State may be led to rebellious disorder; such is the nature of the influence. This verifies the saying, "Affairs may be ruined by a single sentence; a kingdom may be settled by its One man."

4. Yao and Shun led on the empire with benevolence, and the people followed them. Kee and Chau led on the empire with violence, and the people followed them. The orders which these issued were contrary to the practises which they loved, and so the people did not follow them. On this account, the ruler must himself be possessed of the good qualities, and then he may require them in the people. He must not have the bad qualities in himself, and then he may require that they shall not be in the people. Never has there been a man, who, not having reference to his own character and wishes in dealing with others, was able effectually to instruct them.

5. Thus we see how the government of the State depends on the regulation of the family.

6. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "That peach-tree, so delicate and elegant! How luxuriant is its foliage! This girl is going to her husband's house. She will rightly order her household." Let the household be rightly ordered, and then the people of the State may be taught.

7. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "They can discharge their duties to their elder brothers. They can discharge their

duties to their younger brothers." Let the ruler discharge his duties to his elder and younger brothers, and then he may teach the people of the State.

8. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "In his deportment there is nothing wrong; he rectifies all the people of the State." Yes; when the ruler, as a father, a son, and a brother, is a model, then the people imitate him.

9. This is what is meant by saying, "The government of his kingdom depends on his regulation of the family."

X.¹¹ 1. What is meant by "The making the whole empire peaceful and happy depends on the government of his State," is this: When the sovereign behaves to his aged, as the aged should be behaved to, the people become filial; when the sovereign behaves to his elders, as elders should be behaved to, the people learn brotherly submission; when the sovereign treats compassionately the young and helpless, the people do the same. Thus the ruler has a principle with which, as with a measuring square, he may regulate his conduct.

2. What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not display in the treatment of his inferiors; what he dislikes in inferiors, let him not display in the service of his superiors; what he hates in those who are before him, let him not therewith precede those who are behind him; what he hates in those who are behind him, let him not therewith follow those who are before him; what he hates to receive on the right, let him not bestow on the left; what he hates to receive on the left, let him not bestow on the right: this is what is called "The principle, with which, as with a measuring square, to regulate one's conduct."

¹¹ The tenth chapter of commentary explains the government of the State, and the making the empire peaceful and happy.

There are thus, in, all, ten chapters of commentary, the first four of which discuss, in a general manner, the scope of the principal topic of the work; while the other six go particularly into an exhibition of the work required in its subordinate branches. The fifth chapter contains the important subject of comprehending true excellence, and the sixth, what is the foundation of the attainment of true sincerity. Those two chapters demand the especial attention of the learner. Let not the reader despise them because of their simplicity.

3. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "How much to be rejoiced in are these princes, the parents of the people! When a prince loves what the people love, and hates what the people hate, then is he what is called the parent of the people.

4. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Lofty is that southern hill, with its rugged masses of rocks! Greatly distinguished are you, O grand-teacher Yin, the people all look up to you." Rulers of kingdoms may not neglect to be careful. If they deviate to a mean selfishness, they will be a disgrace in the empire.

5. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Before the sovereigns of the Yin Dynasty had lost the hearts of the people, they could appear before God. Take warning from the house of Yin. The great decree is not easily preserved." This shows that, by gaining the people, the kingdom is gained, and, by losing the people, the kingdom is lost.

6. On this account, the ruler will first take pains about his own virtue. Possessing virtue will give him the people. Possessing the people will give him the territory. Possessing the territory will give him its wealth. Possessing the wealth, he will have resources for expenditure.

7. Virtue is the root; wealth is the result.

8. If he make the root his secondary object, and the result his primary, he will only wrangle with his people, and teach them rapine.

9. Hence, the accumulation of wealth is the way to scatter the people; and the letting it be scattered among them is the way to collect the people.

10. And hence, the ruler's words going forth contrary to right will come back to him in the same way, and wealth, gotten by improper ways, will take its departure by the same.

11. In the Announcement to K'ang, it is said, "The decree indeed may not always rest on us"; that is, goodness obtains the decree, and the want of goodness loses it.

12. In the Book of T'su, it is said, "The kingdom of

T'su does not consider that to be valuable. It values, instead, its good men."

13. Duke Wan's uncle, Fan, said, "Our fugitive does not account that to be precious. What he considers precious is the affection due to his parent."

14. In the Declaration of the duke of Ts'in, it is said, "Let me have but one minister, plain and sincere, not pretending to other abilities, but with a simple, upright mind; and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as though he himself possessed them and, where he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, and really showing himself able to bear them and employ them — such a minister will be able to preserve my sons and grandsons, and black-haired people, and benefits likewise to the kingdom may well be looked for from him. But if it be his character, when he finds men of ability, to be jealous and hate them; and when he finds the accomplished and perspicacious men, to oppose them and not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them — such a minister will not be able to protect my sons and grandsons and black-haired people; and may he not also be pronounced dangerous to the State?"

15. It is only the truly virtuous man, who can send away such a man and banish him, driving him out among the barbarous tribes around, determined not to dwell along with him in the Middle Kingdom. This is in accordance with the saying, "It is only the truly virtuous man who can love or who can hate others."

16. To see men of worth and not be able to raise them to office; to raise them to office, but not to do so quickly — this is disrespectful. To see bad men, and not be able to remove them; to remove them, but not to do so to a distance — this is weakness.

17. To love those whom men hate, and to hate those whom men love — this is to outrage the natural feeling of men. Calamities can not fail to come down on him who does so.

18. Thus we see that the sovereign has a great course to pursue. He must show entire self-devotion and sincerity to attain it, and by pride and extravagance he will fail of it.

19. There is a great course also for the production of wealth. Let the producers be many and the consumers few. Let there be activity in the production, and economy in the expenditure. Then the wealth will always be sufficient.

20. The virtuous ruler, by means of his wealth, makes himself more distinguished. The vicious ruler accumulates wealth at the expense of his life.

21. Never has there been a case of the sovereign loving benevolence, and the people not loving righteousness. Never has there been a case where the people have loved righteousness, and the affairs of the sovereign have not been carried to completion. And never has there been a case where the wealth in such a State, collected in the treasuries and arsenals, did not continue in the sovereign's possession.

22. The officer Mang Heen said, "He who keeps horses and a carriage does not look after fowls and pigs. The family which keeps its stores of ice does not rear cattle or sheep. So, the house which possesses a hundred chariots should not keep a minister to look out for imposts that he may lay them on the people. Than to have such a minister, it were better for that house to have one who should rob it of its revenues." This is in accordance with the saying: "In a State, pecuniary gain is not to be considered to be prosperity, but its prosperity will be found in righteousness."

23. When he who presides over a State or a family makes his revenues his chief business, he must be under the influence of some small, mean man. He may consider this man to be good; but when such a person is employed in the administration of a State or family, calamities from Heaven, and injuries from men, will befall it together, and, though a good man may take his place, he will not be able to remedy the evil. This illustrates again the saying, "In a State, gain is not to be considered prosperity, but its prosperity will be found in righteousness."

THE DOCTRINE OF THE EQUILIBRIUM

The philosopher Ch'ing explains this book as follows: "Being without inclination to either side is called CHUNG; admitting of no change is called YUNG. By CHUNG is denoted the correct course to be pursued by all under heaven; by YUNG is denoted the fixed principle regulating all under heaven. This work contains the law of the mind, which was handed down from one to another, in the Confucian school, till Tsze-sze, fearing lest in the course of time errors should arise about it, committed it to writing, and delivered it to Mencius. The book first speaks of one principle; it next spreads this out, and embraces all things; finally, it returns and gathers them all up under the one principle. Unroll it, and it fills the universe; roll it up, and it retires and lies hid in mysteriousness. The relish of it is inexhaustible. The whole of it is solid learning. When the skilful reader has explored it with delight till he has apprehended it, he may carry it into practise all his life, and will find that it can not be exhausted."

THE DOCTRINE OF THE EQUILIBRIUM

CHAPTER I.¹ 1. What Heaven has conferred is called The Nature; an accordance with this nature is called The Path of Duty; the regulation of this path is called Instruction.

2. The path may not be left for an instant. If it could be left, it would not be the path. On this account, the superior man does not wait till he sees things, to be cautious; nor till he hears things, to be apprehensive.

3. There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself, when he is alone.

4. While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of Equilibrium. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of Harmony. This Equilibrium is the great root from which grow all the human actings in the world, and this Harmony is the universal path which they all should pursue.

5. Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven

¹In this first chapter, Tsze-sze states the views which had been handed down to him, as the basis of his discourse. First, it shows clearly how the path of duty is to be traced to its origin in Heaven, and is unchangeable, while the substance of it is provided in ourselves, and may not be departed from. Next, it speaks of the importance of preserving and nourishing this, and of exercising a watchful self-scrutiny with reference to it. Finally, it speaks of the meritorious achievements and transforming influence of sage and spiritual men in their highest extent. The wish of Tsze-sze was that hereby the learner should direct his thoughts inward, and, by searching in himself, there find these truths, so that he might put aside all outward temptations appealing to his selfishness, and fill up the measure of the goodness which is natural to him. This chapter is what the writer Yang called it—"The sum of the whole work." In the ten chapters which follow, Tsze-sze quotes the words of the Master to complete the meaning of this.

and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish.

II. 1. Chung-ni² said, "The superior man embodies the course of the Mean; the mean man acts contrary to the course of the Mean.

2. "The superior man's embodying the course of the Mean is because he is a superior man, and so always maintains the Mean. The mean man's acting contrary to the course of the Mean is because he is a mean man, and has no caution."

III. The Master said, "Perfect is the virtue which is according to the Mean! Rare have they long been among the people, who could practise it!"

IV. 1. The Master said, "I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not walked in: the knowing go beyond it, and the stupid do not come up to it. I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not understood: the men of talents and virtue go beyond it, and the worthless do not come up to it.

2. "There is no body but eats and drinks. But they are few who can distinguish flavors."

V. The Master said, "Alas! how is the path of the Mean untrodden!"

VI. The Master said, "There was Shun: He indeed was greatly wise! Shun loved to question others, and to study their words, though they might be shallow. He concealed what was bad in them, and displayed what was good. He took hold of their two extremes, determined the Mean, and employed it in his government of the people. It was by this that he was Shun!"

VII. The Master said, "Men all say, 'We are wise'; but being driven forward and taken in a net, a trap, or a pitfall, they know not how to escape. Men all say, 'We are wise'; but happening to choose the course of the Mean, they are not able to keep it for a round month."

VIII. The Master said, "This was the manner of Hwuy: he made choice of the Mean, and whenever he got hold of what was good, he clasped it firmly, as if wearing it on his breast, and did not lose it."

² Chung-ni is the marriage name of Confucius.

IX. The Master said, "The empire, its States, and its families, may be perfectly ruled; dignities and emoluments may be declined; naked weapons may be trampled under the feet; but the course of the Mean can not be attained to."

X. 1. Tsze-lu asked about energy.

2. The Master said, "Do you mean the energy of the South, the energy of the North, or the energy which you should cultivate yourself?"

3. "To show forbearance and gentleness in teaching others; and not to revenge unreasonable conduct — this is the energy of Southern regions; and the good man makes it his study.

4. "To lie under arms; and meet death without regret — this is the energy of Northern regions; and the forceful make it their study.

5. "Therefore, the superior man cultivates a friendly harmony, without being weak. How firm is he in his energy! He stands erect in the middle, without inclining to either side. How firm is he in his energy! When good principles prevail in the government of his country, he does not change from what he was in retirement. How firm is he in his energy! When bad principles prevail in the country, he maintains his course to death without changing. How firm is he in his energy!"

XI. 1. The Master said, "To live in obscurity, and yet practise wonders, in order to be mentioned with honor in future ages — this is what I do not do.

2. "The good man tries to proceed according to the right path, but when he has gone half way, he abandons it; I am not able so to stop.

3. "The superior man accords with the course of the Mean. Though he may be all unknown, unregarded by the world, he feels no regret. It is only the sage who is able for this."

XII.³ 1. The way which the superior man pursues reaches wide and far, and yet is secret.

³This twelfth chapter contains the words of Tsze-sze, and is designed to illustrate what is said in the first chapter, that "The path

2. Common men and women, however ignorant, may intermeddle with the knowledge of it; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage does not know. Common men and women, however much below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practise; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage is not able to carry into practise. Great as heaven and earth are, men still find some things in them with which to be dissatisfied. Thus it is that, were the superior man to speak of his way in all its greatness, nothing in the world would be found able to embrace it; and were he to speak of it in its minuteness, nothing in the world would be found able to split it.

3. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The hawk flies up to heaven; the fishes leap in the deep." This expresses how this way is seen above and below.

4. The way of the superior man may be found, in its simple elements, in the intercourse of common men and women; but in its utmost reaches, it shines brightly through heaven and earth.

XIII. 1. The Master said, "The path is not far from man. When men try to pursue a course which is far from the common indications of consciousness, this course can not be considered The Path.

2. "In the Book of Poetry, it is said, 'In hewing an axe-handle, in hewing an axe-handle, the pattern is not far off.' We grasp one axe-handle to hew the other, and yet, if we look askance from the one to the other, we may consider them as apart. Therefore, the superior man governs men, according to their nature, with what is proper to them, and as soon as they change what is wrong, he stops.

3. "When one cultivates to the utmost the principles of his nature, and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is not far from The Path. What you do not like, when done to yourself, do not do to others.

4. "In the way of the superior man there are four things, to not one of which have I as yet attained.—To serve my may not be left." In the eight chapters which follow, he quotes, in a miscellaneous way, the words of Confucius to illustrate it.

father, as I would require my son to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my prince, as I would require my minister to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my elder brother, as I would require my younger brother to serve me: to this I have not attained; to set the example in behaving to a friend, as I would require him to behave to me: to this I have not attained. Earnest in practising the ordinary virtues and careful in speaking about them, if, in his practise, he has anything defective, the superior man dares not but exert himself; and if, in his words, he has any excess, he dares not allow himself such license. Thus his words have respect to his actions, and his actions have respect to his words; is it not just an entire sincerity which marks the superior man?"

XIV. 1. The superior man does what is proper to the station in which he is; he does not desire to go beyond this.

2. In a position of wealth and honor, he does what is proper to a position of wealth and honor. In a poor and low position, he does what is proper to a poor and low position. Situated among barbarous tribes, he does what is proper to a situation among barbarous tribes. In a position of sorrow and difficulty, he does what is proper to a position of sorrow and difficulty. The superior man can find himself in no position in which he is not himself.

3. In a high situation, he does not treat with contempt his inferiors. In a low situation, he does not court the favor of his superiors. He rectifies himself, and seeks for nothing from others, so that he has no dissatisfactions. He does not murmur against heaven, nor grumble against men.

4. Thus it is that the superior man is quiet and calm, waiting for the appointments of Heaven, while the mean man walks in dangerous paths, looking for lucky occurrences.

5. The Master said, "In archery we have something like the way of the superior man. When the archer misses the center of the target, he turns round and seeks for the cause of his failure in himself."

XV. 1. The way of the superior man may be compared to what takes place in traveling, when to go a distance, we

must first traverse the space that is near, and in ascending a height, when we must begin from the lower ground.

2. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Happy union with wife and children is like the music of lutes and harps. When there is concord among brethren the harmony is delightful and enduring. Thus, may you regulate your family and enjoy the pleasure of your wife and children."

3. The Master said, "In such a state of things parents have entire complacence!"

XVI. 1. The Master said, "How abundantly do spiritual beings display the powers that belong to them!"

2. "We look for them, but do not see them; we listen to, but do not hear them; yet they enter into all things, and there is nothing without them.

3. "They cause all the people in the empire to fast and purify themselves, and array themselves in their richest dresses, in order to attend at their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heads, and on the right and left of their worshipers.

4. "It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'The approaches of the spirits, you can not surmise — and can you treat them with indifference?'

5. "Such is the manifestness of what is minute! Such is the impossibility of repressing the outgoings of sincerity!"

XVII. 1. The Master said, "How greatly filial was Shun! His virtue was that of a sage; his dignity was the imperial throne; his riches were all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants preserved the sacrifices to himself.

2. "Therefore having such great virtue, it could not but be that he should obtain the throne, that he should obtain those riches, that he should obtain his fame, that he should attain to his long life.

3. "Thus it is that Heaven, in the production of things, is surely bountiful to them, according to their qualities. Hence the tree that is flourishing, it nourishes, while that which is ready to fall, it overthrows.

4. "In the Book of Poetry, it is said, 'The admirable,

amiable prince displayed conspicuously his excelling virtue, adjusting his people and adjusting his officers. Therefore, he received from Heaven the emoluments of dignity. It protected him, assisted him, decreed him the throne; sending from heaven these favors, as it were repeatedly.'

5. "We may say therefore that he who is greatly virtuous will be sure to receive the appointment of Heaven."

XVIII. 1. The Master said, "It is only King Wan of whom it can be said that he had no cause for grief! His father was King Ke, and his son was King Wu. His father laid the foundations of his dignity, and his son transmitted it.

2. "King Wu continued the enterprise of King Thae, King Ke, and King Wan. He once buckled on his armor, and got possession of the empire. He did not lose the distinguished personal reputation which he had throughout the empire. His dignity was the imperial throne. His riches were the possession of all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants maintained the sacrifices to himself.

3. "It was in his old age that King Wu received the appointment to the throne, and the duke of Chau completed the virtuous course of Wan and Wu. He carried up the title of king to Thae and Ke, and sacrificed to all the former dukes above them with the imperial ceremonies. And this rule he extended to the princes of the empire, the great officers, the scholars, and the common people. Was the father a great officer and the son a scholar, then the burial was that due to a great officer, and the sacrifice that due to a scholar. Was the father a scholar, and the son a great officer, then the burial was that due to a scholar, and the sacrifice that due to a great officer. The one year's mourning was made to extend only to the great officers, but the three years' mourning extended to the emperor. In the mourning for a father or mother, he allowed no difference between the noble and the mean."

XIX. 1. The Master said, "How far-extending was the filial piety of King Wu and the duke of Chau!

2. "Now filial piety is seen in the skilful carrying out of

the wishes of our forefathers, and the skilful carrying forward of their undertakings.

3. "In spring and autumn, they repaired and beautified the temple-halls of their fathers, set forth their ancestral vessels, displayed their various robes, and presented the offerings of the several seasons.

4. "By means of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, they distinguished the imperial kindred according to their order of descent. By ordering the parties present according to their rank, they distinguished the more noble and the less. By the arrangement of the services, they made a distinction of talents and worth. In the ceremony of general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to their superiors, and thus something was given the lowest to do. At the concluding feast, places were given according to the hair, and thus was made the distinction of years.

5. "They occupied the places of their forefathers, practised their ceremonies, and performed their music. They revered those whom they honored, and loved those whom they regarded with affection. Thus they served the dead as they would have served them alive; they served the departed as they would have served them had they been continued among them.

6. "By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth they served God, and by the ceremonies of the ancestral temple they sacrificed to their ancestors. He who understands the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and the meaning of the several sacrifices to ancestors, would find the government of a kingdom as easy as to look into his palm!"

XX. 1. The duke Gae asked about government.

2. The Master said, "The government of Wan and Wu is displayed in the records — the tablets of wood and bamboo. Let there be the men and the government will flourish; but without the men, their government decays and ceases.

3. "With the right men the growth of government is rapid, just as vegetation is rapid in the earth; and moreover their government might be called an easily growing rush.

4. "Therefore the administration of government lies in getting proper men. Such men are to be got by means of the ruler's own character. That character is to be cultivated by his treading in the ways of duty. And the treading those ways of duty is to be cultivated by the cherishing of benevolence.

5. "Benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives. Righteousness is the accordance of actions with what is right, and the great exercise of it is in honoring the worthy. The decreasing measures of the love due to relatives, and the steps in the honor due to the worthy, are produced by the principle of propriety.

6. "When those in inferior situations do not possess the confidence of their superiors, they can not retain the government of the people.

7. "Hence the sovereign may not neglect the cultivation of his own character. Wishing to cultivate his character, he may not neglect to serve his parents. In order to serve his parents, he may not neglect to acquire a knowledge of men. In order to know men, he may not dispense with a knowledge of Heaven.

8. "The duties of universal obligation are five, and the virtues wherewith they are practised are three. The duties are those between sovereign and minister, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder brother and younger, and those belonging to the intercourse of friends. Those five are the duties of universal obligation. Knowledge, magnanimity, and energy — these three are the virtues universally binding. And the means by which they carry the duties into practise is singleness.

9. "Some are born with the knowledge of those duties; some know them by study; and some acquire the knowledge after a painful feeling of their ignorance. But the knowledge being possessed, it comes to the same thing. Some practise them with a natural ease; some from a desire for their advantages; and some by strenuous effort. But the achievement being made, it comes to the same thing."

10. The Master said, "To be fond of learning is to be near to knowledge. To practise with vigor is to be near to magnanimity. To possess the feeling of shame is to be near to energy.

11. "He who knows these three things knows how to cultivate his own character. Knowing how to cultivate his own character, he knows how to govern other men. Knowing how to govern other men, he knows how to govern the empire with all its States and families.

12. "All who have the government of the empire with its States and families have nine standard rules to follow; *viz.*, the cultivation of their own characters; the honoring of men of virtue and talents; affection toward their relatives; respect toward the great ministers; kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers; dealing with the mass of the people as children; encouraging the resort of all classes of artizans; indulgent treatment of men from a distance; and the kindly cherishing of the princes of the States.

13. "By the ruler's cultivation of his own character, the duties of universal obligation are set forth. By honoring men of virtue and talents, he is preserved from errors of judgment. By showing affection to his relatives, there is no grumbling nor resentment among his uncles and brethren. By respecting the great ministers, he is kept from errors in the practise of government. By kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers, they are led to make the most grateful return for his courtesies. By dealing with the mass of people as his children, they are led to exhort one another to what is good. By encouraging the resort of artizans, his resources for expenditure are rendered ample. By indulgent treatment of men from a distance, they are brought to resort to him from all quarters. And by kindly cherishing the princes of the States, the whole empire is brought to revere him.

14. "Self-adjustment and purification, with careful regulation of his dress, and the not making a movement contrary to the rules of propriety: this is the way for the ruler to cultivate his person. Discarding slanders, and keeping him-

self from the seductions of beauty; making light of riches, and giving honor to virtue: this is the way for him to encourage men of worth and talents. Giving them places of honor and large emolument, and sharing with them in their likes and dislikes: this is the way for him to encourage his relatives to love him. Giving them numerous officers to discharge their orders and commissions: this is the way for him to encourage the great ministers. According to them a generous confidence, and making their emoluments large: this is the way to encourage the body of officers. Employing them only at the proper times, and making the imposts light: this is the way to encourage the people. By daily examinations and monthly trials, and by making their rations in accordance with their labors: this is the way to encourage the classes of artizans. To escort them on their departure and meet them on their coming; to commend the good among them, and show compassion to the incompetent: this is the way to treat indulgently men from a distance. To restore families whose line of succession has been broken, and to revive States that have been extinguished; to reduce to order States that are in confusion, and support those which are in peril; to have fixed times for their own reception at court, and the reception of their envoys; to send them away after liberal treatment, and welcome their coming with small contributions: this is the way to cherish the princes of the States.

15. "All who have the government of the empire with its States and families have the above nine standard rules. And the means by which they are carried into practise is singleness.

16. "In all things success depends on previous preparation, and without such previous preparation there is sure to be failure. If what is to be spoken be previously determined, there will be no stumbling. If affairs be previously determined, there will be no difficulty with them. If one's actions have been previously determined, there will be no sorrow in connection with them. If principles of conduct have been previously determined, the practise of them will be inexhaustible.

17. "When those in inferior situations do not obtain the confidence of the sovereign, they can not succeed in governing the people. There is a way to obtain the confidence of the sovereign; if one is not trusted by his friends, he will not get the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way to being trusted by one's friends; if one is not obedient to his parents, he will not be true to friends. There is a way to being obedient to one's parents; if one, on turning his thoughts in upon himself, finds a want of sincerity, he will not be obedient to his parents. There is a way to the attainment of sincerity in one's self; if a man do not understand what is good, he will not attain sincerity in himself.

18. "Sincerity is the way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the way of men. He who possesses sincerity is he who, without an effort, hits what is right, and apprehends, without the exercise of thought—he is the sage who naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains to sincerity is he who chooses what is good, and firmly holds it fast.

19. "To this attainment there are requisite the extensive study of what is good, accurate inquiry about it, careful reflection on it, the clear discrimination of it, and the earnest practise of it.

20. "The superior man, while there is any thing he has not studied, or while in what he has studied there is any thing he can not understand, will not intermit his labor. While there is any thing he has not inquired about, or any thing in what he has inquired about which he does not know, he will not intermit his labor. While there is any thing which he has not reflected on, or any thing in what he has reflected on which he does not apprehend, he will not intermit his labor. While there is any thing which he has not discriminated, or his discrimination is not clear, he will not intermit his labor. If there be anything which he has not practised, or his practise fails in earnestness, he will not intermit his labor. If another man succeed by one effort, he will use a hundred efforts. If another man succeed by ten efforts, he will use a thousand.

21. "Let a man proceed in this way, and, though dull, he will surely become intelligent; though weak, he will surely become strong."

XXI.⁴ When we have intelligence resulting from sincerity, this condition is to be ascribed to nature; when we have sincerity resulting from intelligence, this condition is to be ascribed to instruction. But given the sincerity, and there shall be the intelligence; given the intelligence, and there shall be the sincerity.

XXII. It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can give its full development of his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the nature of other men, he can give their full development to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion.

XXIII. Next to the above is he who cultivates to the utmost the shoots of goodness in him. From those he can attain to the possession of sincerity. This sincerity becomes apparent. From being apparent, it becomes manifest. From being manifest, it becomes brilliant. Brilliant, it affects others. Affecting others, they are changed by it. Changed by it, they are transformed. It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can transform.

XXIV. It is characteristic of the most entire sincerity to be able to foreknow. When a nation or family is about to flourish, there are sure to be happy omens; and when it is about to perish, there are sure to be unlucky omens. Such events are seen in the milfoil and tortoise, and affect the

⁴This is the twenty-first chapter. Tsze-sze takes up in it, and discourses from, the subjects of "the way of Heaven" and "the way of men," mentioned in the preceding chapter. The twelve chapters that follow are all from Tsze-sze, repeating and illustrating the meaning of this one.

movements of the four limbs. When calamity or happiness is about to come, the good shall certainly be foreknown by him, and the evil also. Therefore the individual possessed of the most complete sincerity is like a spirit.

XXV. 1. Sincerity is that whereby self-completion is effected, and its way is that by which man must direct himself.

2. Sincerity is the end and beginning of things; without sincerity there would be nothing. On this account, the superior man regards the attainment of sincerity as the most excellent thing.

3. The possessor of sincerity does not merely accomplish the self-completion of himself. With this quality he completes other men and things also. The completing himself shows his perfect virtue. The completing other men and things shows his knowledge. Both these are virtues belonging to the nature, and this is the way by which a union is effected of the external and internal. Therefore, whenever he — the entirely sincere man — employs them, that is, these virtues, their action will be right.

XXVI. 1. Hence to entire sincerity there belongs ceaselessness.

2. Not ceasing, it continues long. Continuing long, it evidences itself.

3. Evidencing itself, it reaches far. Reaching far, it becomes large and substantial. Large and substantial, it becomes high and brilliant.

4. Large and substantial: this is how it contains all things. High and brilliant: this is how it overspreads all things. Reaching far and continuing long: this is how it perfects all things.

5. So large and substantial, the individual possessing it is the coequal of Earth. So high and brilliant it makes him the coequal of Heaven. So far-reaching and long-continuing, it makes him infinite.

6. Such being its nature, without any display, it becomes manifested; without any movement, it produces changes; and without any effort, it accomplishes its ends.

7. The way of Heaven and Earth may be completely declared in one sentence: They are without any doubleness, and so they produce things in a manner that is unfathomable.

8. The way of Heaven and Earth is large and substantial, high and brilliant, far-reaching and long-enduring.

9. The heaven now before us is only this bright, shining spot; but when viewed in its inexhaustible extent, the sun, moon, stars, and constellations of the zodiac are suspended in it, and all things are overspread by it. The earth before us is but a handful of soil; but when regarded in its breadth and thickness, it sustains mountains like the Hwa and the Yoh, without feeling their weight, and contains the rivers and seas, without their leaking away. The mountain now before us appears only a stone; but when contemplated in all the vastness of its size, we see how the grass and trees are produced on it, and birds and beasts dwell on it, and precious things which men treasure up are found on it. The water now before us appears but a ladleful; yet extending our view to its unfathomable depths, the largest tortoises, iguanas, iguanadons, dragons, fishes and turtles are produced in them, articles of value and sources of wealth abound in them.

10. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The ordinances of Heaven, how profound are they and unceasing!" The meaning is, that it is thus that Heaven is Heaven. And again, "How illustrious was it, the singleness of the virtue of King Wan!" indicating that it was thus that King Wan was what he was. Singleness likewise is unceasing.

XXVII. 1. How great is the path proper to the sage! .

2. Like overflowing water, it sends forth and nourishes all things, and rises up to the height of heaven.

3. All complete is its greatness! It embraces the three hundred rules of ceremony, and the three thousand rules of demeanor.

4. It waits for the proper man, and then it is trodden.

5. Hence it is said, "Only by perfect virtue can the perfect path, in all its courses, be made a fact."

6. Therefore, the superior man honors his virtuous nature, and maintains constant inquiry and study, seeking to

carry it out to its breadth and greatness, so as to omit none of the most exquisite and minute points which it embraces, and to raise it to its greatest height and brilliancy, so as to pursue the course of the Mean. He cherishes his old knowledge, and is continually acquiring new. He exerts an honest, generous earnestness, in the esteem and practise of all propriety.

7. Thus, when occupying a high situation he is not proud, and in a low situation he is not insubordinate. When the kingdom is well-governed, he is sure by his words to rise; and when it is ill-governed, he is sure by his silence to command forbearance to himself. Is not this what we find in the Book of Poetry —“ Intelligent is he and prudent, and so preserves his person ”?

XXVIII. 1. The Master said, “ Let a man who is ignorant be fond of using his own judgment; let a man without rank be fond of assuming a directing power to himself; let a man who is living in the present age go back to the ways of antiquity; on the persons of all who act thus calamities will be sure to come.

2. To no one but the emperor does it belong to order ceremonies, to fix the measures, and to determine the characters.

3. Now, over the empire, carriages have all wheels of the same size; all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules.

4. One may occupy the throne, but if he have not the proper virtue, he may not dare to make ceremonies or music. One may have the virtue, but if he do not occupy the throne, he may not presume to make ceremonies or music.

5. The Master said, “ I may describe the ceremonies of the Hea Dynasty, but Ke can not sufficiently attest my words. I have learned the ceremonies of the Yin Dynasty, and in Sung they still continue. I have learned the ceremonies of Chau, which are now used, and I follow Chau.

XXIX. 1. He who attains to the sovereignty of the empire, having those three important things, shall be able to effect that there shall be few errors under his government.

2. However excellent may have been the regulations of those of former times, they can not be attested. Not being attested, they can not command credence, and not being credited, the people would not follow them. However excellent might be the regulations made by one in an inferior situation, he is not in a position to be honored. Unhonored, he can not command credence, and not being credited, the people would not follow his rules.

3. Therefore the institutions of the Ruler are rooted in his own character and conduct, and sufficient attestation of them is given by the masses of the people. He examines them by comparison with those of the three kings, and finds them without mistake. He sets them up before heaven and earth, and finds nothing in them contrary to their mode of operation. He presents himself with them before spiritual beings, and no doubts about them arise. He is prepared to wait for the rise of a sage, a hundred ages after, and has no misgivings.

4. His presenting himself with his institutions before spiritual beings, without any doubts about them arising, shows that he knows Heaven. His being prepared, without any misgivings, to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages after, shows that he knows men.

5. Such being the case, the movements of such a ruler, illustrating his institutions, constitute an example to the empire for ages. His acts are for ages a law to the empire. His words are for ages a lesson to the empire. Those who are far from him look longingly for him; and those who are near him are never wearied with him.

6. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Not disliked there, not tired of here, from day to day and night to night, will they perpetuate their praise." Never has there been a ruler, who did not realize this description, that obtained an early renown throughout the empire.

XXX. 1. Chung-ni handed down the doctrines of Yao and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the regulations of Wan and Wu, taking them as his model. Above, he harmonized with the times of

heaven and below, he was conformed to the water and land.

2. He may be compared to heaven and earth, in their supporting and containing, their overshadowing and curtaining, all things. He may be compared to the four seasons in their alternating progress, and to the sun and moon in their successive shining.

3. All things are nourished together without their injuring one another. The courses of the seasons, and of the sun and moon are pursued without any collision among them. The smaller energies are like river currents; the greater energies are seen in mighty transformations. It is this which makes heaven and earth so great.

XXXI. 1. It is only he, possessed of all sagely qualities that can exist under heaven, who shows himself quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and, all-embracing knowledge, fitted to exercise rule; magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild, fitted to exercise forbearance; impulsive, energetic, firm, and enduring, fitted to maintain a firm hold; self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the Mean, and correct, fitted to command reverence; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative, and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination.

2. All-embracing is he and vast, deep and active as a fountain, sending forth in their due seasons his virtues.

3. All-embracing and vast, he is like heaven. Deep and active as a fountain, he is like the abyss. He is seen, and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him. Therefore his fame overspreads the Middle Kingdom, and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach; wherever the strength of man penetrates; wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains; wherever the sun and moon shine; wherever frosts and dews fall — all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honor and love him. Hence it is said, "He is the equal of Heaven."

XXXII. 1. It is only the individual possessed of the most entire sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can

adjust the great invariable relations of mankind, establish the great fundamental virtues of humanity, and know the transforming and nurturing operations of Heaven and Earth; shall this individual have any being or anything beyond himself on which he depends?

2. Call him man in his ideal, how earnest is he! Call him an abyss, how deep is he! Call him Heaven, how vast is he!

3. Who can know him, but he who is indeed quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, possessing all heavenly virtue?

XXXIII.⁵ 1. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Over her embroidered robe she puts a plain, single garment," intimating a dislike to the display of the elegance of the former. Just so, it is the way of the superior man to prefer the concealment of his virtue, while it daily becomes more illustrious, and it is the way of the mean man to seek notoriety, while he daily goes more and more to ruin. It is characteristic of the superior man, appearing insipid, yet never to produce satiety; while showing a simple negligence, yet to have his accomplishments recognized; while seemingly plain, yet to be discriminating. He knows how what is distant lies in what is near. He knows where the wind proceeds from. He knows how what is minute becomes manifested. Such a one, we may be sure, will enter into virtue.

2. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Although the fish

⁵The above is the thirty-third chapter. Tsze-sze having carried his descriptions to the extremest point in the preceding chapters, turns back in this, and examines the source of his subject; and then again from the work of the learner, free from all selfishness, and watchful over himself when he is alone, he carries out his description, till by easy steps he brings it to the consummation of the whole empire tranquillized by simple and sincere reverentialness. He further eulogizes its mysteriousness, till he speaks of it at last as without sound or smell. He here takes up the sum of his whole Work, and speaks of it in a compendious manner. Most deep and earnest was he in thus going again over his ground, admonishing and instructing men: shall the learner not do his utmost in the study of the Work?

sink and lie at the bottom, it is still quite clearly seen." Therefore the superior man examines his heart, that there may be nothing wrong there, and that he may have no cause for dissatisfaction with himself. That wherein the superior man can not be equaled is simply this — his work which other men can not see.

3. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Looked at in your apartment, be there free from shame, where you are exposed to the light of heaven." Therefore, the superior man, even when he is not moving, has a feeling of reverence, and while he speaks not, he has the feeling of truthfulness.

4. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "In silence is the offering presented, and the spirit approached to; there is not the slightest contention." Therefore the superior man does not use rewards, and the people are stimulated to virtue. He does not show anger, and the people are awed more than by hatchets and battle-axes.

5. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "What needs no display is virtue. All the princes imitate it." Therefore, the superior man being sincere and reverential, the whole world is conducted to a state of happy tranquillity.

6. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "I regard with pleasure your brilliant virtue, making no great display of itself in sounds and appearances." The Master said, "Among the appliances to transform the people, sounds and appearances are but trivial influences. It is said in another ode, 'His virtue is light as a hair.' Still, a hair will admit of comparison as to its size. 'The doings of the supreme Heaven have neither sound nor smell.' That is perfect virtue."

END OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE EQUILIBRIUM

THE HSIAO KING
OR
CLASSIC OF FILIAL PIETY

The text of the Hsiao King, or Classic of Filial Piety, is here given as published by the Emperor Hsuan in A.D. 722, with the headings then prefixed to the eighteen chapters. Subsequently, in the eleventh century, Sze-ma Kwang (A.D. 1009-1086), a famous statesman and historian, published what he thought was the more ancient text of the classic in twenty-two chapters, with "Explanations" by himself. The differences between his text and that of the Emperor Hsuan are insignificant. He gives, however, one additional chapter, which would be the nineteenth of his arrangement. It is as follows, and is an estimate of the value of the Hsiao: "Inside the smaller doors leading to the inner apartments are to be found all the rules of government. There is awe for the father, and also for the elder brother. Wife and children, servants and concubines are like the common people, serfs, and underlings."

THE HSIAO KING

CHAPTER I.—THE SCOPE AND MEANING OF THE TREATISE

Once, when Chung-ni¹ was unoccupied, and his disciple Tsang² was sitting by in attendance on him, the Master said, "Shan, the ancient kings had a perfect virtue, and all-embracing rule of conduct, through which they were in accord with all under heaven. By the practise of it the people were brought to live in peace and harmony, and there was no ill-will between superiors and inferiors. Do you know what it was?" Tsang rose from his mat, and said, "How should I, Shan, who am so devoid of intelligence, be able to know this?" The Master said, "It was filial piety. Now filial piety is the root of all virtue, and the stem out of which grows all moral teaching. Sit down again, and I will explain the subject to you. Our bodies — to every hair and bit of skin — are received by us from our parents, and we must not presume to injure or wound them: this is the beginning of filial piety. When we have established our character by the practise of the filial course, so as to make our name famous in future ages, and thereby glorify our parents: this is the end of filial piety. It commences with the service of parents; it proceeds to the service of the ruler; it is completed by the establishment of the character.

¹Chung-ni was the designation or marriage-name of Confucius, applied to the sage by Tsze-sze, his grandson, the reputed author of that treatise. By his designation, it is said, a grandson might speak of his grandfather, and therefore some scholars contend that the Classic of Filial Piety should also be ascribed to Tsze-sze; but such a canon can not be considered as sufficiently established.

²Tsang-Tsze, named Shan, and styled Tsze-yu, was one of the most distinguished of the disciples of Confucius. He was a favorite with the Sage, and himself a voluminous writer. Many incidents and sayings are related illustrative of his filial piety, so that it was natural for the master to enter with him on the discussion of that virtue. He shares in the honor and worship still paid to Confucius, and is one of his "Four Assessors" in his temples.

“ It is said in the Major Odes of the Kingdom,

“ ‘ Ever think of your ancestor,
Cultivating your virtue.’ ”³

CHAPTER II.—FILIAL PIETY IN THE SON OF HEAVEN

He who loves his parents will not dare to incur the risk of being hated by any man, and he who reveres his parents will not dare to incur the risk of being contemned by any man.⁴ When the love and reverence of the Son of Heaven are thus carried to the utmost in the service of his parents, the lessons of his virtue affect all the people, and he becomes a pattern to all within the four seas: this is the filial piety of the Son of Heaven.⁵

It is said in the Marquis of Fu on Punishments,⁶

“ The One man will have felicity, and the millions of the people will depend on what ensures his happiness.”

CHAPTER III.—FILIAL PIETY IN THE PRINCES OF STATES

Above others, and yet free from pride, they dwell on high, without peril; adhering to economy, and carefully observant of the rules and laws, they are full, without overflowing. To dwell on high without peril is the way long to preserve nobility; to be full without overflowing is the way long to

³ Chu Hsi commences his expurgation of our classic with casting out this concluding paragraph; and rightly so. Such quotations of the odes and other passages in the ancient classics are not after the manner of Confucius. The application made of them, moreover, is often far-fetched, and away from their proper meaning.

⁴ The thing thus generally stated must be understood specially of the sovereign, and only he who stands related to all other men can give its full manifestation. Attention is called to this in the “ Extensive Explanation of the Hsiao ”: “ *Wu yu chan* does not mean merely to hate men; it indicates an anxious apprehension lest the hatred of men should light on me, and my parents thereby be involved in it.”

⁵ The appellation “ Son of Heaven ” for the sovereign was unknown in the earliest times of the Chinese nation. It can not be traced beyond the Shang Dynasty.

⁶ See the *Shu*, V, xxvii, 4.

preserve riches. When their riches and nobility do not leave their persons, then they are able to preserve the altars of their land and grain, and to secure the harmony of their people and men in office:⁷ this is the filial piety of the princes of States.

It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“ Be apprehensive, be cautious,
As if on the brink of a deep abyss,
As if treading on thin ice.”

CHAPTER IV.—FILIAL PIETY IN HIGH MINISTERS AND GREAT OFFICERS

They do not presume to wear robes other than those appointed by the laws of the ancient kings;⁸ nor to speak words other than those sanctioned by their speech; nor to exhibit conduct other than that exemplified by their virtuous ways. Thus none of their words being contrary to those sanctions, and none of their actions contrary to the right way, from their mouths there comes no exceptionable speech, and in

⁷ In the Chinese Repository we have for this: “They will be able to protect their ancestral possessions with the produce of their lands”; “They will make sure the supreme rank to their families.” But it is better to retain the style of the original. The king had a great altar to the spirit (or spirits) presiding over the land. The color of the earth in the center of it was yellow; that on each of its four sides differed according to the colors assigned to the four quarters of the sky. A portion of this earth was cut away, and formed the nucleus of a corresponding altar in each feudal State, according to their position relative to the capital. The prince of the State had the prerogative of sacrificing there. A similar rule prevailed for the altars to the spirits presiding over the grain. So long as a family ruled in a State, so long its chief offered those sacrifices; and the extinction of the sacrifices was an emphatic way of describing the ruin and extinction of the ruling House.

⁸ The articles of dress, to be worn by individuals according to their rank, from the sovereign downward, in their ordinary attire, and on special occasions, were the subject of attention and enactment in China from the earliest times. We find references to them in the earliest books of the Shu (Part II, Books iii, iv). The words to be spoken, and conduct to be exhibited, on every varying occasion, could not be so particularly described; but the example of the ancient kings would suffice for these, as their enactments for the dress.

their conduct there are found no exceptionable actions. Their words may fill all under heaven, and no error of speech will be found in them. Their actions may fill all under heaven, and no dissatisfaction or dislike will be awakened by them. When these three things — their robes, their words, and their conduct — are all complete as they should be, they can then preserve their ancestral temples:⁹ this is the filial piety of high ministers and great officers.

It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“He is never idle, day or night,
In the service of the One man.”

CHAPTER V.—FILIAL PIETY IN INFERIOR OFFICERS

As they serve their fathers, so they serve their mothers, and they love them equally. As they serve their fathers, so they serve their rulers, and they reverence them equally. Hence love is what is chiefly rendered to the mother, and reverence is what is chiefly rendered to the ruler, while both of these things are given to the father. Therefore when they serve their ruler with filial piety they are loyal; when they serve their superiors with reverence they are obedient. Not failing in this loyalty and obedience in serving those above them, they are then able to preserve their emoluments and positions, and to maintain their sacrifices:¹⁰ this is the filial piety of inferior officers.

It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“Rising early and going to sleep late,
Do not disgrace those who gave you birth.”

⁹ Their ancestral temples were to the ministers and grand officers what the altars of their land and grain were to the feudal lords. Every grand officer had three temples or shrines, in which he sacrificed to the first chief of his family or clan; to his grandfather, and to his father. While these remained, the family remained, and its honors were perpetuated.

¹⁰ These officers had their “positions” or places, and their pay. They had also their sacrifices, but such as were private or personal to themselves, so that we have not much information about them.

CHAPTER VI.—FILIAL PIETY IN THE COMMON PEOPLE

They follow the course of heaven in the revolving seasons; they distinguish the advantages afforded by different soils;¹¹ they are careful of their conduct and economical in their expenditure — in order to nourish their parents: this is the filial piety of the common people.

Therefore from the Son of Heaven down to the common people, there never has been one whose filial piety was without its beginning and end on whom calamity did not come.

CHAPTER VII.—FILIAL PIETY IN RELATION TO THE THREE POWERS¹²

The disciple Tsang said, "Immense indeed is the greatness of filial piety!" The Master replied:

"Yes, filial piety is the constant method of Heaven, the righteousness of Earth, and the practical duty of Man. Heaven and earth invariably pursue the course that may be thus described, and the people take it as their pattern. The ancient kings imitated the brilliant luminaries of heaven, and acted in accordance with the varying advantages afforded by earth, so that they were in accord with all under heaven; and in consequence their teachings, without being severe, were successful, and their government, without being rigorous, secured perfect order.

¹¹ These two sentences describe the attention of the people to the various processes of agriculture, as conditioned by the seasons and the qualities of different soils.

With this chapter there ends what Chu Hsi regarded as the only portion of the Hsiao in which we can rely as having come from Confucius. So far, it is with him a continuous discourse that proceeded from the Sage. And there is, in this portion, especially when we admit Chu's expurgations, a certain sequence and progress, without logical connection, in the exhibition of the subject which we fail to find in the chapters that follow.

¹² "The Three Powers" is a phrase which is first found in two of the Appendixes to the Yi King, denoting Heaven, Earth, and Man, as the three great agents or agencies in nature, or the circle of being.

“The ancient kings, seeing how their teachings¹³ could transform the people, set before them therefore an example of the most extended love, and none of the people neglected their parents; they set forth to them the nature of virtue and righteousness, and the people roused themselves to the practise of them; they went before them with reverence and yielding courtesy, and the people had no contentions; they led them on by the rules of propriety and by music, and the people were harmonious and benignant; they showed them what they loved and what they disliked, and the people understood their prohibitions.

“It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“‘Awe-inspiring are you, O Grand-Master Yin,
And the people all look up to you.’”

CHAPTER VIII.—FILIAL PIETY IN GOVERNMENT

The Master said, “Anciently, when the intelligent kings by means of filial piety ruled all under heaven, they did not dare to receive with disrespect the ministers of small States; how much less would they do so to the dukes, marquises, counts, and barons!” Thus it was that they got the princes of the myriad States with joyful hearts to assist them in the sacrificial services to their royal predecessors.¹⁴

“The rulers of States did not dare to slight wifeless men and widows; how much less would they slight their officers and their people! Thus it was that they got all their people with joyful hearts to assist them in serving the rulers, their predecessors.

“The heads of clans did not dare to slight their servants

¹³ Sze-ma Kwang changes the character for “teachings” here into that for “filial piety.” There is no external evidence for such a reading; and the texture of the whole treatise is so loose that we can not insist on internal evidence.

¹⁴ Under the Chau Dynasty there were five orders of nobility, and the States belonging to their rulers varied proportionally in size. There were besides many smaller States attached to these. The feudal lords at stated times appeared at the royal court, and one important duty which then devolved on them was to take part in the sacrificial services of the sovereign in the ancestral temple.

and concubines; how much less would they slight their wives and sons! Thus it was that they got their men with joyful hearts to assist them in the service of their parents.

"In such a state of things, while alive, parents reposed in the glory of their sons; and, when sacrificed to, their disembodied spirits enjoyed their offerings.¹⁵ Therefore all under heaven peace and harmony prevailed; disasters and calamities did not occur; misfortunes and rebellions did not arise.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"To an upright, virtuous conduct
All in the four quarters of the State render obedient homage."

CHAPTER IX.—THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SAGES¹⁶

The disciple Tsang said, "I venture to ask whether in the virtue of the sages there was not something greater than filial piety." The Master replied, "Of all creatures with their different natures produced by Heaven and Earth, man is the noblest. Of all the actions of man there is none greater than filial piety. In filial piety there is nothing greater than the reverential awe of one's father. In the reverential awe shown to one's father there is nothing greater than the making him the correlate of Heaven. The duke of Chau was the man who first did this.¹⁷

"Formerly the duke of Chau at the border altar sacrificed

¹⁵In the Chinese Repository we read here: "Parents enjoyed tranquillity while they lived, and after their decease sacrifices were offered to their disembodied spirits."

¹⁶"The sages" here must mean the sage sovereigns of antiquity, who had at once the highest wisdom and the highest place.

¹⁷It is difficult to say in what the innovation of the duke of Chau consisted. The editors of the "Extensive Explanation of the Hsiao" say: "According to commentators on our classic, Shun thinking only of the virtue of his ancestor did not sacrifice to him at the border altar. The sovereigns of Hsia and Yin were the first to sacrifice there to their ancestors; but they had not the ceremony of sacrificing to their fathers as the correlates of Heaven. This began with the duke of Chau." To this explanation of the text the editors demur, and consider that the noun "father" in the previous sentence should be taken, in the case of the duke of Chau, both of Hau-chi and King Wan.

to Hau-chi as the correlate of Heaven, and in the Brilliant Hall he honored King Wan, and sacrificed to him as the correlate of God.¹⁸ The consequence was that from all the States within the four seas, every prince came in the discharge of his duty to assist in those sacrifices. In the virtue of the sages what besides was there greater than filial piety?

“Now the feeling of affection grows up at the parents’ knees, and as the duty of nourishing those parents is exercised, the affection daily merges in awe. The sages proceeded from the feeling of awe to teach the duties of reverence, and from that of affliction to teach those of love. The teachings of the sages, without being severe, were successful, and their government, without being rigorous, was effective. What they proceeded from was the root of filial piety implanted by Heaven.

“The relation and duties between father and son, thus belonging to the Heaven-conferred nature, contain in them the principle of righteousness between ruler and subject. The son derives his life from his parents, and no greater gift could possibly be transmitted; his ruler and parent in one, his father deals with him accordingly, and no generosity could be greater than this. Hence, he who does not love his parents, but loves other men, is called a rebel against virtue; and he who does not revere his parents, but reveres other men, is called a rebel against propriety. When the ruler himself thus acts contrary to the principles which should place him in accord with all men, he presents nothing for the people to imitate. He has nothing to do with what is good, but entirely and only with what is injurious to virtue. Though he may get his will, and be above others, the superior man does not give him his approval.

¹⁸The reader of the translations from the Shih must be familiar with Hau-chi, as the ancestor to whom the kings of Chau traced their lineage, and with King Wan, as the acknowledged founder of their dynasty in connection with his son, King Wu. Was any greater honor done to Hau-chi in making him the correlate of Heaven than to King Wan in making him the correlate of God? We must say, No. As is said in the “Extensive Explanation,” “The words ‘Heaven’ and ‘God’ are different, but their meaning is one and the same.”

“ It is not so with the superior man. He speaks, having thought whether the words should be spoken; he acts, having thought whether his actions are sure to give pleasure. His virtue and righteousness are such as will be honored; what he initiates and does is fit to be imitated; his deportment is worthy of contemplation; his movements in advancing or retiring are all according to the proper rule. In this way does he present himself to the people, who both revere and love him, imitate and become like him. Thus he is able to make his teaching of virtue successful, and his government and orders to be carried into effect.

“ It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“ ‘ The virtuous man, the princely one,
Has nothing wrong in his deportment.’ ”

CHAPTER X.—AN ORDERLY DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTS OF FILIAL PIETY

The Master said, “ The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows: In his general conduct to them, he manifests the utmost reverence; in his nourishing of them, his endeavor is to give them the utmost pleasure; when they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety; in mourning for them dead, he exhibits every demonstration of grief; in sacrificing to them, he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things he may be pronounced able to serve his parents.

“ He who thus serves his parents, in a high situation, will be free from pride; in a low situation, will be free from insubordination; and among his equals, will not be quarrelsome. In a high situation pride leads to ruin; in a low situation insubordination leads to punishment; among equals quarrelsomeness leads to the wielding of weapons.

“ If those three things be not put away, though a son every day contribute beef, mutton, and pork¹⁹ to nourish his parents, he is not filial.”

¹⁹ Compare with this the Confucian “ Analects,” II, vii.

CHAPTER XI.—FILIAL PIETY IN RELATION TO THE FIVE PUNISHMENTS

The Master said, "There are three thousand offenses against which the five punishments are directed, and there is not one of them greater than being unfilial.

"When constraint is put upon a ruler, that is the disowning of his superiority; when the authority of the sages is disallowed, that is the disowning of all law; when filial piety is put aside, that is the disowning of the principle of affection. These three things pave the way to anarchy."

CHAPTER XII.—AMPLIFICATION OF "THE ALL-EMBRACING RULE OF CONDUCT" IN CHAPTER I

The Master said, "For teaching the people to be affectionate and loving there is nothing better than Filial Piety; for teaching them the observance of propriety and submissiveness there is nothing better than Fraternal Duty; for changing their manners and altering their customs there is nothing better than Music; for securing the repose of superiors and the good order of the people there is nothing better than the Rules of Propriety.

"The Rules of Propriety are simply the development of the principle of Reverence. Therefore the reverence paid to a father makes all sons pleased; the reverence paid to an elder brother makes all younger brothers pleased; the reverence paid to a ruler makes all subjects pleased.²⁰ The reverence paid to One man makes thousands and myriads of men pleased. The reverence is paid to a few, and the pleasure extends to many; this is what is meant by an 'All-embracing Rule of Conduct.'"

²⁰ We must understand that the "reverence" here is to be understood as paid by the sovereign. In reverencing his father (or an uncle may also in Chinese usage be so styled), he reverences the idea of fatherhood, and being "in accord with the minds of all under heaven," his example is universally powerful. And we may reason similarly of the other two cases of reverence specified.

CHAPTER XIII.—AMPLIFICATION OF “THE PERFECT VIRTUE” IN CHAPTER I

The Master said, “The teaching of filial piety by the superior man ²¹ does not require that he should go to family after family, and daily see the members of each. His teaching of filial piety is a tribute of reverence to all the fathers under heaven; his teaching of fraternal submission is a tribute of reverence to all the elder brothers under heaven; his teaching of the duty of a subject is a tribute of reverence to all the rulers under heaven.

“It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“‘The happy and courteous sovereign
Is the parent of the people.’”

“If it were not a perfect virtue, how could it be recognized as in accordance with their nature by the people so extensively as this?”

CHAPTER XIV.—AMPLIFICATION OF “MAKING OUR NAME FAMOUS,” IN CHAPTER I

The Master said, “The filial piety with which the superior man serves his parents may be transferred as loyalty to the ruler; the fraternal duty with which he serves his elder brother may be transferred as submissive deference to elders; his regulation of his family may be transferred as good government in an official position. Therefore, when his conduct is thus successful in his inner private circle, his name will be established and transmitted to future generations.”

CHAPTER XV.—FILIAL PIETY IN RELATION TO REPROOF AND REMONSTRANCE

The disciple Tsang said, “I have heard your instructions on the affection of love, on respect and reverence, on giving repose to the minds of our parents, and on making our names

²¹ The *Chun-tsze*, or “superior man,” here must be taken of the sovereign.

famous; I would venture to ask if simple obedience to the orders of one's father can be pronounced filial piety." The Master replied, "What words are these! what words are these! Anciently, if the Son of Heaven had seven ministers who would remonstrate with him, although he had not right methods of government, he would not lose his possession of the kingdom; if the prince of a State had five such ministers, though his measures might be equally wrong, he would not lose his State; if a great officer had three, he would not, in a similar case, lose the headship of his clan; if an inferior officer had a friend who would remonstrate with him, a good name would not cease to be connected with his character; and the father who had a son that would remonstrate with him would not sink into the gulf of unrighteous deeds.²² Therefore when a case of unrighteous conduct is concerned, a son must by no means keep from remonstrating with his father, nor a minister from remonstrating with his ruler. Hence, since remonstrance is required in the case of unrighteous conduct, how can simple obedience to the orders of a father be accounted filial piety?"²³

CHAPTER XVI.—THE INFLUENCE OF FILIAL PIETY AND THE RESPONSE TO IT

The Master said, "Anciently, the intelligent kings served their fathers with filial piety, and therefore they served Heaven with intelligence; they served their mothers with filial piety, and therefore they served Earth with discrimination.²⁴ They pursued the right course with reference to their

²² The numbers 7, 5, 3, 1 can not be illustrated by examples, nor should they be insisted on. The higher the dignity, the greater would be the risk, and the stronger must be the support that was needed.

²³ Compare the "Analects," IV, xviii.

²⁴ This chapter is as difficult to grasp as the seventh, which treated of Filial Piety in Relation to "the Three Powers." It is indeed a sequel to that. Heaven and Earth appear as two Powers, or as a dual Power, taking the place of Heaven or God. We can in a degree follow the treatise in transferring the reverence paid by a son to his father to loyalty shown by him to his ruler; but it is more difficult to understand the development of filial piety into religion that is here assumed and described. Was it not the pressing of this virtue too far,

own seniors and juniors, and therefore they secured the regulation of the relations between superiors and inferiors throughout the kingdom.

“When Heaven and Earth were served with intelligence and discrimination, the spiritual intelligences displayed their retributive power.²⁵

“Therefore even the Son of Heaven must have some whom he honors; that is, he has his uncles of his surname. He must have some to whom he concedes precedence; that is, he has his cousins, who bear the same surname, and are older than himself. In the ancestral temple he manifests the utmost reverence, showing that he does not forget his parents; he cultivates his person and is careful of his conduct, fearing lest he should disgrace his predecessors.

“When in the ancestral temple he exhibits the utmost reverence, the spirits of the departed manifest themselves. Perfect filial piety and fraternal duty reach to and move the spiritual intelligences, and diffuse their light on all within the four seas; they penetrate everywhere.

“It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“From the west to the east,
From the south to the north,
There was not a thought but did him homage.”

CHAPTER XVII.—THE SERVICE OF THE RULER

The Master said, “The superior man serves his ruler in such a way that, when at court in his presence, his thought is how to discharge his loyal duty to the utmost; and when he retires from it, his thought is how to amend his errors. He carries out with deference the measures springing from his

the making more of it than can be made, that tended to deprave religion during the Chau Dynasty, and to mingle with the earlier monotheism a form of nature-worship?

²⁵ “The Spiritual Intelligences” here are Heaven and Earth conceived of as Spiritual Beings. They responded to the sincere service of the intelligent kings, as Hsing Ping says, with “the harmony of the active and passive principles of nature, seasonable winds and rain, the absence of epidemic sickness and plague, and the repose of all under heaven.”

excellent qualities, and rectifies him only to save him from what are evil. Hence, as the superior and inferior, they are able to have an affection for each other.

“It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“‘In my heart I love him;
And why should I not say so?
In the core of my heart I keep him,
And never will forget him.’”

CHAPTER XVIII.—FILIAL PIETY IN MOURNING FOR PARENTS

The Master said, “When a filial son is mourning for a parent, he wails, but not with a prolonged sobbing; in the movements of ceremony he pays no attention to his appearance; his words are without elegance of phrase; he can not bear to wear fine clothes; when he hears music, he feels no delight; when he eats a delicacy, he is not conscious of its flavor: such is the nature of grief and sorrow.

“After three days he may partake of food; for thus the people are taught that the living should not be injured on account of the dead, and that emaciation must not be carried to the extinction of life: such is the rule of the sages. The period of mourning does not go beyond three years, to show the people that it must have an end.

“An inner and outer coffin are made; the grave-clothes also are put on, and the shroud; and the body is lifted into the coffin. The sacrificial vessels, round and square, are regularly set forth, and the sight of them fills the mourners with fresh distress.²⁶ The women beat their breasts, and the men stamp with their feet, wailing and weeping, while they sorrowfully escort the coffin to the grave. They consult the tortoise-shell to determine the grave and the ground about it, and there they lay the body in peace. They prepare the ancestral temple to receive the tablet of the departed, and there present offerings to the disembodied spirit. In spring

²⁶ These vessels were arranged every day by the coffin, while it continued in the house, after the corpse was put into it. The practise was a serving of the dead as the living had been served.

and autumn they offer sacrifices, thinking of the deceased as the seasons come round.

“The services of love and reverence to parents when alive, and those of grief and sorrow to them when dead: these completely discharge the fundamental duty of living men. The righteous claims of life and death are all satisfied, and the filial son's service of his parents is completed.”

END OF THE HSIAO KING

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